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SOCIAL ECONOMIST

Editors: { GEORGE GUNTON,
 { STARR HOYT NICHOLS.

JULY, 1892.

	PAGE
National Greatness	I
Country Boy Versus Town Boy	II
The Labor Question Once More	23
By J. M. WELDING.	
Public School Extensions	27
By JOEL BENTON.	
People's Clubs	35
By J. WM. DE JONGE.	
"Bad Times Ahead" for England	39
The Value of Silver	43
By P. A. LEONARD.	
The "Citizen" and Rome	46
Editorial Crucible	51

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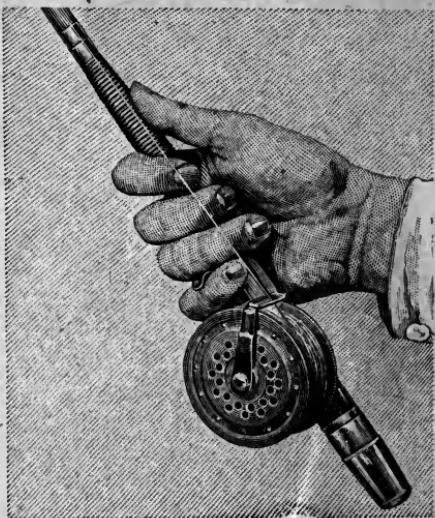
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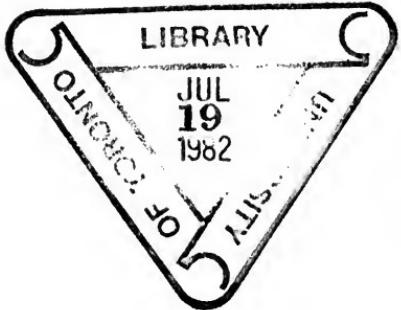
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Periodicals

SOCIAL ECONOMIST.

JULY, 1892.

National Greatness.

It is a well known story of Plutarch concerning one of the greatest of the Greeks, Themistocles, that being asked one day by a gilded youth if he could play on a musical instrument, he replied: "No, I do not know how to do that, but I do know how to make a great city out of a small one." Themistocles' career illustrated his claim to a marked extent, and gave him honor for all time while the name of the gilded youth has perished. Themistocles helped to make Athens great by his skill in diplomacy and war, since he was too early to know that industrial pursuits were the real source of greatness to a people, and in his day it was generally fight or be killed in the case of any. He was obliged to use means adapted to the time. In our day, however, the recognized means of national greatness are those of production and commerce, to which accordingly the thoughts of all statesmen are more and more directed. In Europe they still have their foreign relations to watch and guard, which entails a set of national duties upon rulers and the support of standing armies, from both of which burdens we are comparatively free. This freedom releases our thoughts and deeds from other complications, and gives us opportunity to devote ourselves, as it were, exclusively to what, as we said, is the main interest of nations, namely, commercial affairs and matters pertaining to the production and consumption of goods. And therefore our statesmanship will devote itself to a study of the best means of the increase of production and of commerce. And that these questions would be the

primary questions with us, whether our statesmen wished it or not, is certain, because the people themselves are forced by the necessities of life to make a study of them, and to push them to the front by reason of their inalienable interest in them. So to the front they come.

It then first becomes clear that the nation must act together on such industrial questions as arise, if it will preserve its national character, and that it must have a policy which shall have in view not the welfare of a part of the nation, but that of the whole of it taken as a unit. There must be a welfare which belongs to the whole, independent of the action it may have upon some special parts, since it is not possible for any people to develop all parts of itself to exactly the same pitch of prominence. Just as the average man cannot develop his muscles to their utmost and develop his brain to its utmost at the same time, so a nation could not develop all industries to their utmost at the same time. But just as the man can be symmetrically developed so as to be muscular enough and brainy enough, and is at his best when thus balanced in his training, just so may a nation be developed symmetrically according to its own advantages and traditions. And this symmetrical development we, as a nation, must seek for in ourselves, not endeavoring to do everything which results in doing many things very badly, but learning to do what we are best fitted for in a superior manner. And the attainment of a high national position and ideal must, as we said, be the desire and policy of the whole nation and not of a mere faction of the nation.

And to this general principle we doubt not every patriotic mind could at once agree. Every one would say that he desired the utmost prosperity and greatness in our nation, and that it should stand as the greatest among all nations. And this place it is by no means improbable that we may reach, and reach it too very soon, since the foundation of all national greatness is in the well-being of its people, and we alone of the leading nations are devoted

to well-being almost exclusively; other nations being, as we said, devoted also to armies and diplomacies and foreign politics, in which is much waste, much absorption of energies which produce nothing and therefore add nothing to national well being. But we go in for production, consumption and commerce. Hence it is that we bound along at such an astonishing pace towards the fore-front of the world, easily surpassing old Russia and Prussia and Italy, and surpassing also France and England in the rate of our advance. They all seem to be going by freight train, where we speed forward by a lightning express. And everybody, including ourselves, is astonished at the time we are making. But the reason of that astonishment is, that no nation has before devoted itself consciously and exclusively to the well-being of its citizens, and therefore there was no example in the world before ours of what could be done in the way of progress by a nation devoted to industries alone. We are the first and great example of this, and the wonders of the result are like those which first appeared in the use of electricity—it did so much more than was ever expected of it.

Nor have men realized yet—not even we ourselves—that the cause of our amazing advance has been our devotion to productive industries of every kind. Our prosperity has been laid to our institutions, to our race qualities, to our isolation from other great nations, to our freedom, to our protestant religion and common schools, without emphasizing the real fact, which is that we are devoted to industries primarily and to other pursuits only secondarily. And as industries make wealth, we have wealth, which is another name for well-being, and everybody shares in the enjoyment of it. In other words, it is our industries that make us great.

Our history makes it clear, then, that our part in the world is to be devoted to industrial pursuits, and that we shall attain our maximum greatness in that direction. We

shall reach the van of nations not by military conquests, nor by naval exploits, nor by colonizing new lands, nor even by extending our political borders, though that extension may come, but by devotion to production and commerce. Nor need we be ashamed to be a nation of industries, since indeed in the long run wealth buys out all other glories and takes them for its own, as easily as a fleet carries off goods, or a flock of wild pigeons takes the acorns of a forest.

We come then to this, that the nation must act for its own industrial interests mainly, and that it must act as a whole. It cannot properly allow itself to act in parts, nor to act carelessly. It must act for its own civilization altogether and in such a way as to keep itself a compact, self-centered, independent, industrial unit; not a mere aggregation of territorially neighboring parts, but a coherent and well outlined whole, clear-headed about its own interests and policies, and swerving neither to the right hand nor to the left in its chosen path of industrial development.

Now this pursuit of its own greatness as a national concern is a comparatively recent idea to be realized by our people, nor is it yet a widely diffused conception, nor one acted upon expressly by anybody, though it really underlies the words and deeds of many of our better statesmen. The origin of our nation has indeed led many of us to another idea. Our states at first separated, independent, and rural, retained so much of their power from the general government, and guarded that power so jealously, that with many state sovereignty became more interesting than the general welfare and led us into civil war. Nor is the sentiment of the superior value of state rights dead even yet, though, like the Roman gladiators—*morituri te salutant*—about to die it salutes us. The echoes of it are, however, still heard in many a local patriotism and many an utterance of sectional thought expressed in such phrases as “the interests of the Northwest demand,” “the interests of the Southwest require,” “the Pacific Coast asks,”

"the South, or the North, or the East, or the West should have," and the like, in which patriotism is conceived in the view which Gen. Hancock had of the tariff as "a local issue." The thought of a general welfare irrespective of any one's section or "deestrict," is not formulated and expressed as a national ideal, and in consequence our politics have often descended to a scattered and mean consideration of how to reconcile interests supposed to be antagonistic to each other, and of endeavors to bring the nation together by a series of compromises based upon no principle, and incapable of rousing anything but the meanest sentiments in political life. But what we want is to supplant this fragmentary sectionalism, this weak and quarrelsome district politics, by a general ideal large enough to excite enthusiasm and make the nation realize consciously its own grandeur and destiny. And we wish to do this by making all to see that nationality requires a policy—industrial nationality an industrial policy, and that that policy must be such as takes care of the nation as a whole without partiality to any special department or locality.

But the moment this point is made, and the policy stated as national, it at once becomes evident that it cannot be a policy which lets everything alone and inaugurates a general scramble in which the devil takes the hindmost. That means simply such a lack of guidance to the nation as a whole as will result in nobody's caring about the nation at all. The nation would cease to be an object of interest as contributing nothing to any one's well-being, and finally a superfluous notion not worth preserving. That is the South American condition, with what contemptible results we all know. But nationality is worth a great deal to us, and anything which looks towards relaxing the bonds of it, is dangerous to tamper with, however much it may seem to promise at the outset.

But those who wish us to throw off all idea of national policy respecting industrial matters and throw open our commerce to the competition of the world without heed to

consequences, *are* tampering with our nationality as a fact and an idea. They would have us to relapse into such political indifferentism as are the South Sea islands to each other, where no one island has any thought of another. We should learn a lesson here from Nature.

In making a superior animal, Nature proceeds by a process of apparent limitations which are really specializations. She makes a man not by giving him at once the teeth of the lion, the wings of the eagle, the speed of the horse, and the four hands of the ape, but she cuts off each and every one of these gifts from his body, shuts each member up to a narrowed use, two hands without talons, two feet for walking only, less speed of leg, no wings, no fins, and gains her perfection by such specialization and limitation. So, in the development of national force and efficiency, it is indispensable that the same method be pursued, as it has been indeed by every nation whose success in history has been pronounced. Savage tribes are undifferentiated and very much alike; civilized nations are distinct in social structure, aims, methods, characters and products, each according to his soils, climates, enemies and historic conditions. So the German, Frenchman, Italian and Englishman differ from each other greatly, and the American from all of them.

Our specialization, after the usual law, is of course necessary if we are to reach the highest place of which we are capable. And this specialization of course will look like limitation and will be resisted by all who imagine our true method to be by universalization and not by limitation. In other words, the jelly-fish condition of generalized qualities seems to them higher and better than the specialized qualities of the greater animals. But the way of limitation and specialization is Nature's way, and therefore it must be followed if we are to become greatest among nations. And as our type of nation so far is industrial, our specialization must be industrial. England's type is getting also to be industrial, and her specialization

must be industrial after another fashion. Being an island of small extent, with more sea-coast so to speak than interior, and less land than population, her type would naturally be in the direction of large foreign commerce. She must make up for smallness of territory by largeness of relations, for domestic insignificance by foreign communications, and to this type she accordingly conforms instinctively and with magnificent results. England stands in the midst of her foreign commerce as a great power of multiplied resources, living as it were in ships and on the sea out of which her power is born.

But we are not an island; we do not need to live in ships nor to get our living from the sea. We have a continent to people and subdue, wherein are possibilities of wealth "beyond the dreams of avarice." We are adapted to becoming landsmen and not sailors, and to get our subsistence and power from our own domain first and foremost. We then should make a distinct mistake if we were to adopt an English ideal of foreign commerce and an English method of development by foreign relations. Such a type would be an English and insular type, but it would not be our type. Our type, on the contrary, is to develop ourselves at home and the resources given us by nature, to make the most of our land as we have it—to spend our money at home, to build our own factories, mine our own ores, raise our own grain and enlarge our own cities. We do not need to reject foreign relations to be sure, but we do not for the present need to seek them, nor is it wise to do so. We can find enough to do inside of our own borders, and we should only leave that undone if we employed ourselves mostly with foreign trade at present. Our duty is to develop our own industries in order to improve our own citizens, knitting closer and stronger our own internal relations, making California trade with Maine, and Oregon with Georgia, and Texas with Minnesota. We need to develop our internal complexities, to bind our extremes together into one whole, to make our

people look at home for their primary well-being, to teach them to care more about each other than about Europe or Asia, to make them more dependent on each other than upon any other land, and so solidify ourselves into a well defined, coherent and inseparable aggregate, all of whose interests work together. Foreign relations pursued in preference will for the present only distract and separate us, foreign commerce only limit internal trade, foreign ideas only perturb and vex our own.

And this is why the policy of tariff is better than the policy of Free-Trade. A country can make money under either, as we see by the English example and our own. We have both grown rich upon these opposite policies. But the policy of Protection binds our interests as with a cord, while the policy of Free-Trade would scatter our interests, giving to California a desire for Chinese trade, and to New York a desire for English trade, drawing in opposite directions and limiting so far the interests of California in New York and of New York in California. The tendency of distant States to fly apart towards other spheres of action would thus be aggravated, and the political unity of which we are proud would be strained by such attractions. This is, perhaps, what has kept South Americans in their broken and disordered state. They have each closer relations with Europe than with each other, and so are easily provoked to contentions and civil wars. They do not hammer themselves into a solid mass by restrictions on foreign relations, as we have done. They have sought to sell in the dearest and buy in the cheapest markets of the world, regardless of all else, with the result that they have little worth while to sell and can buy little; while we have been making a nation of ourselves, have made that our prime object, with the result of having now much to sell and being able to buy more than any other single people. This comes of first trying to make one's self a nation, and having respect to one's own integration and unity before trying to get welfare from others.

And, therefore, those who are always clamoring for Free-Trade on the ground that we could make more money and bring forward many excellent figures to prove their statements, are still on the wrong track, for it would only be more money for a short time, since our interests would flow towards foreign countries rather than our own and so our own development into varied industries would be arrested, to our final loss and hindrance. We should be like one who chooses a smooth road to run on rather than a rough one, in spite of the fact that the smooth one ran in the wrong direction.

What we need to attend to, then, are the things which will make our nation great. These things are, as we said, new industries, more factories, greater cities, more internal commerce, greater national interests, increased dealings between Pacific and Atlantic States, between Gulf and Lake States, developing our territories, using our rivers, introducing complexities everywhere. It is idle to reach out towards Australia, while we have vast reaches of unsettled territory capable of giving us all that Australia can furnish. It is idle to ask Europe to enrich us, when there is far greater wealth awaiting us at home in filling the vacant land with factories and towns.

We have already an immense population living on a higher average plane than that of any nation on earth, old or new. Its comfort is such as to make the poorer classes of Europe envious. Its civilization is not confined to a few, but is widely extended to everybody. It is a home growth, and largely owing to the protective isolation which a wide sea, not easily passed in our early days, gave to our infant state. This civilization is our care. It is not to be put to the risk of fortune; it should be guarded by science. Our people should not be exposed to the chances of reckless nature. Our industries, which are their reliance, should not be exposed to new and hazardous competitions. Our national type should be dear to us. We have a large land to be developed. Let the world go, till our home

resources are brought well into play, and then we may call upon the rest of earth's land to furnish more. Till then, let us protect our own, as our best method of being able eventually to bid for the rest. Let California remember that New York is more to her than the East, though the East were paved with "orient pearls and gold." Let the Northwest remember that stony New England is far more to her than London or Paris, since New England is bound up with her in a national community. Let the South remember that Alaska and Maine are part and parcel of her care and life, and far more than Cuba or Europe, whose political bodies are distinct from her own. Let New York remember that, though her port should be filled with foreign ships by a Free-Trade policy, yet that the fact that they were foreign should make them less dear to her than locomotives and river steamers that bind her to the magnificent lands and people of our own great continent. Let South, North, East and West all combine together to be far more interested in each other's welfare than in all the rest of the world besides, and devote their thoughts, energies, books, politics and laws to such things as shall make one great single and solid nation standing four square to all the winds of heaven.

Guardianship of ourselves first; afterwards hospitality to the rest of the world.

Country Boy Versus Town Boy.

"Most of our great men come from the country." Who has not heard this proverb from infancy? In both city and country it passes without question as to truthfulness. *Why* does the country boy outstrip his city rival in the race of life? In reply to this question a number of reasons have been advanced, among the most ingenious of which are the following:

1st. The country boy being inured to a life of labor, becomes hardened, both physically and mentally, and so is enabled to put forth a more vigorous and sustained effort than can the pampered and weakly city youth. [Of course, this goes upon the assumption that the greater proportion of city people are in easy circumstances and so can afford to indulge their youth in a life of ease and sloth. (?)]

2d. The country boy is exempt from the many temptations that beset his urban cousins. [We are hereby prepared to find the average rustic a paragon of innocence, honesty and virtue in general. (?)]

3d. That the short school terms of the country at once afford the youth opportunity to develop his physical powers by labor, and this, in its turn, gives him a zest for study. When, on the contrary, the town boy, while wearied with a long school term, is subjected to the machine system and treadmill routine of graded schools. [This, of course, puts well paid instructors, skilled pedagogy, the kindergarten and the gymnasium at a sad discount.] All attempts at improvement of the country schools, and the betterment of their teachers, professionally and financially, are met and defeated by this everlasting outcry against introducing the "machine methods of the city."

The proverb cited at the beginning of this article, and the accompanying brood of alleged reasons given in its

support, have been, in a manner, incorporated within the general stock of popular beliefs; and so prone is the public to cling to an opinion once rooted in its mind, that the task of proving said opinion to be wrong is a difficult one indeed. The cause of the town boy is nearly hopeless: so much so that it requires considerable boldness to venture upon his defense. Labored efforts have been made by various and sundry writers to establish evidence against the worth of the town boy; but who has ever undertaken his defense? His inferiority is not only insisted upon, but it acquires an added heinousness in the light of the common view of his case, in that he fails *because* of his superior advantages, whereas his rustic competitor is supposed to succeed in spite of disadvantages.

Speaking upon this point it might be as well to remark that the sovereign obstacle against which the town boy has to contend at the very outset of the race, is the discouragement of having always dinned into him the utter hopelessness of his efforts in competing with his country cousin. It is related of Louis XIV. that he once propounded to some of the wisest of his courtiers the following question: "Why does a vessel containing ten pounds of water acquire no added weight when a fish weighing one pound is added thereto?" After wrestling for three days and nights with the question, one of them, moved by a bright idea, suggested that the question be changed to—"Does a vessel containing ten pounds of water acquire no added weight when a fish weighing one pound is added thereto?" A pair of scales being brought in and a simple experiment made, a royal joke was spoiled and a popular delusion corrected. In a spirit of fair investigation then, let us change the terms of the question to: 1st. *Do* most of our great men come from the country? 2d. *Is* the country boy superior to the town boy physically, intellectually or morally? 3d. *Do* the country schools perform better work in fitting youth for the race of life than is done in the schools of cities? The writer remembers an

instance of the unfairness with which the town boy is treated in investigations bearing upon this subject. While a pupil in the First Intermediate School, on Baymiller Street in Cincinnati, he witnessed the following incident: A gentleman, whose name is frequently mentioned in educational circles, visited said school for the express purpose of gathering testimony in support of this pet hobby of the American people—the physical and mental superiority of country-bred youths over their urban cousins. He had been informed, it seems, that in the intermediate schools of the city was to be found a large percentage of pupils from country districts, who, having completed the course of study in their home schools, availed themselves of the advantages offered by the higher institutions of the city. Many of these pupils either boarded with relatives in the city or came in daily on the early accommodation trains.

Our principal conducted this visitor through all the departments and gave him every facility for making his investigations. His method of procedure was to take every class in its turn and to require all members from the country to stand. Measurements were then taken of height of body and circumference of chest. An equal number of city pupils in the various classes were then subjected to like measurements. While this was being done the teachers were required to ascertain from the registers the class standing of the country boys and that also of their resident opponents.

This hobby rider made a finish of his inquiries by the afternoon recess. Of course we pupils were much mystified at his proceedings, but our principal quieted our curiosity by assuring us that he would invite the visitor to explain himself at the weekly closing exercises held in the chapel-room of the A Grade. That occasion arriving, this gentleman, a very pleasant speaker by the way, prefaced his remarks with that time-worn "chestnut,"—"Nearly all of the presidents and other great men of our country were

farmer boys." After his speech, in which he labored to hold up to our view the virtues of country boys in general, he wound up by stating that his experiment with our school, and with schools of other cities, had proven conclusively that not only are the country boys head and shoulders above their city classmates, physically, but they are uniformly found at the head of the classes to which they belong. To this statement our principal and teachers seemed heartily to agree, and we were invited to look towards the heads of the various classes and bear our testimony to the truth of the deduction. From the sheepish glances seen all over the large room with its five hundred occupants, it was inferred that the town boy saw and acknowledged his inferiority. And so he would have been utterly discomfited, were it not that he found a champion of his own number, whose achievement it was to pluck victory from the very jaws of defeat. With the ready wit of a thorough-going town boy, he saw at once the weak spot in the harness of this one-sided investigator, and with a well directed shaft he put the hobby-rider *hors de combat*.

A little red-headed lad of Irish parentage, bright, impulsive and utterly fearless, restlessly fidgeting in his seat, his face ablaze and every hair erect while listening to this elaborately prepared slander of his congeners, jumped to his feet, and, addressing our principal by name, blurted out, "Now you jest look at Miss _____'s register and see if them big country boys at the head of our class aint lots older than us fellows. I'll bet that when us town fellows gits as old as them boys we'll be as big, or bigger, and if we're in school at all then, we'll be in the third or fourth year of the high school, where these country fellers ort to be if they're so awful smart and big and active and all that; and then, why aint any of them found in even the highest classes of this school?" After the laughter attendant upon this bold speech of our young Nestor had subsided, the principal suggested the fairness of the proposal made by our champion, and, in accordance therewith the school

registers were consulted. The result uncontestedly sustained the point raised. It was found that the average age of resident pupils of the A Grade, First Intermediate School, was between thirteen and fourteen years; that of non-residents between sixteen and seventeen.

Let us see what there is in the claim that nearly all of the greatest minds are the products of country life. To begin with, we will concede the fact that most of our presidents were farmers' boys, or, at least, may have been between the plow-handles at some time during youth. But in view of the fact that the very latest of our presidents were born at a time when fully ninety-five per cent. of the entire population of the New World resided outside of cities and the larger towns, let it be asked the advocates of rural pre-eminence,—supposing the cities to have been capable of producing their proportionate share of the genius fit to discharge presidential duties, what would be the due number of city or town-bred presidents? Again, let it be asked, have our presidents as a class, been chosen from among the brightest intellects of our country? Every moderately well-informed person knows that, with a few bright exceptions, our presidents are, to use a colloquialism, made of second-rate timber. The great statesmen, whose names and achievements are before the people, never survive the ordeal of nominating conventions. Some "dark horse" is brought out as a compromise between contending giants. The press of both parties then hunts him from "among the stuff," his virtues and his failings are magnified until in the eyes of the people he is "higher than any from his shoulders and upwards."

Some years ago, an article published—if I remember rightly, in the *Youth's Companion*—was extensively copied and circulated by the press of the country. The writer had sent one hundred postal cards to as many men prominent in politics, education, literature, commerce, arts and sciences. Upon these cards were printed inquiries as to the place of birth and circumstances of boyhood. The

answers showed that but ten per cent. of these leading men had been born and reared in large cities, while the other ninety per cent. had come either from the country, or from *towns of less than five thousand inhabitants*. The writer also mentions the fact that nearly all of these eminent men were beyond sixty in years. The article, being published in 1882, makes it appear that most of these men were born at a period of our history when the purely urban proportion of our population was very insignificant. In 1830, only one person out of thirty-two was an inhabitant of a city of *five thousand* or more inhabitants. Even as late as 1880, the urban population was only eighteen per cent. of that of the entire country. Now, what else do these figures show but a complete victory of the much traduced city-bred boys, who, starting in the race numbering less than three per cent. of the contestants, come out in the end with ten per cent. of the prizes! And then, may we inquire, why should the boys belonging to towns of *less than five thousand inhabitants*, be ranked with the country boys? Having been for ten years a pupil in the public schools of Cincinnati, and having had an experience of eighteen years as teacher in country schools and in graded schools of small towns, I am prepared to affirm that the people of small towns have, by long odds, more points of character in common with city people than with the surrounding rustics. Country people generally affect a degree of superciliousness when comparing their own condition as landed proprietors, with the lot in life of the "town trash"—the laborers and mechanics who form the body of the town's people. But a moderately close observer will soon note the fact that the farmer-folk do not *feel* the contempt to which they give expression. On the contrary they pay the town-folks the very highest compliment in that they sedulously try to imitate their ways. The degree of culture, intelligence and refinement of a country neighborhood rises in proportion to the nearness of town. Sons and daughters of wealthy farmers are glad to be admitted

into the social circles of the small town, whose standard of society is set by the families of professional men, merchants and mechanics. The educational advantages, and the intellectual light engendered by the friction of various elements of society, in even a small town, raises the general average of culture much higher than that which obtains in a rural community. In our larger cities, merchants and others, when referring to city boys, as compared with country boys, are unduly careless in the use of these terms; the latter generally implies, simply, all those who are *not from the larger cities*. By this classification, a boy born and bred in a small town of fifteen hundred, or of four thousand inhabitants, passes for a country boy, although near his home he is alluded to as a "town dude." One proprietor of a large mercantile establishment, whose fad it was to favor young men "from the country" in his choice of employes, was induced by a request of the writer to inquire more particularly as to the antecedents of the nine "country boys" behind his counters. The inquiry opened his eyes to the fact that not one of them had ever been between plow-handles, or had ever combed hay-seed out of his hair.

In looking up the biographies of the many great men who started in life as farmer-boys, we observe this one significant fact, that invariably they availed themselves of the very first opportunity of quitting rural surroundings and employments. They formed the very cream, so to speak, of the country population, which seeking its natural position of affinity with kindred minds of the city, created the impression there that the country is a very magazine of force and mental strength, whereas the simple truth is, that it is but a mass of refuse that remains after the best element has been extracted. On the other hand, no account is kept of the great number of city youths who have chosen farming as their calling, and achieved success therein. The mines and homestead claims of the West tell the tale of pluck and enterprise of town-bred boys.

Some of the great wheat farms of Dakota and cattle ranches of Montana are owned and operated by men born in cities and educated in their public schools.

The general tendency is, that whenever a country boy rises to eminence as a man, to add the fact of his country training to his fame. If one of equal eminence is known to have been city-bred, no comments are made as his success is considered as a matter of course. In cases where the early life of a distinguished man has been of a mixed town and country training, it is usual to attribute the entire credit to his rural experience. Henry Clay, for instance, acquired his title as "Mill-boy of the Slashes" before he was nine years of age. The really formative period of his life was the time from that early age to manhood spent in Richmond, Va. Let us now make out a list of town and city boys and see if they can be outmatched by an equal number of plow-boys.

First comes the bright galaxy of Boston boys,—Ben. Franklin, Chas. Sumner, Edgar Allen Poe, Parkman the historian, and Ralph Waldo Emerson. Then from the second great city of our early national era, Philadelphia, comes Robert Morris, the financier of the Revolution, the poet Boker, and Com. Porter. From New York City, John Jay and the great Washington Irving; Roscoe Conkling and Bret Harte from Albany, N. Y. Thos. B. Reed and Henry Wadsworth Longfellow from Portsmouth, Me. The three greatest of American historians, Prescott, Bancroft and Motley, sons of Massachusetts, were town boys of Salem, Worcester and Dorchester. From the same state come the town-boys, Hawthorn of Salem, Everett of Dorchester, and Oliver Wendell Holmes of Cambridge. More Yankee boys,—Morse of Charlestown, James Russell Lowell of Cambridge, William Cullen Bryant of Cummington, Cyrus W. Field of Stockbridge; then the Beecher boys (and girls) of Litchfield, Conn., Chas. Goodyear of New Haven, Oliver Hazard Perry and the other great sea-captain Isaac Hull of Newport, R. I.

Against the renowned Webster we may match Alexander Hamilton, whose early youth was spent as clerk in a commercial house in the West Indies. Albert Gallatin, his successor as treasurer, was from Geneva, Switzerland. And it may be interesting to note that the earlier "farmer presidents" each kept a town-bred man at his elbow.

Would presidential honors have added anything to the fame of these great men? The first presidential candidate of the Republican party was the great "Pathfinder" and conqueror of California, Gen. John Fremont, the Savannah boy. Gen. Winfield Scott was from Petersburgh, Va. The two Shermans, William T. and John, were town boys of Lancaster, O. Edwin M. Stanton was from Steubenville, O. Gen. Grant may be claimed as a country boy, but, in reality the town of Point Pleasant had more to do with his early training than the farm. He was a tanner's boy. The list could easily be swelled, but it would be unnecessary.

America being the last settled of all the continents, her population is of course mainly agricultural. But let it be remarked here that by far the greater number of the progenitors of our rural population were from the seaport cities and towns of England, Ireland, Holland, France and Germany, and the more the pity it is so. In our early history the scarcity of skilled husbandmen and gardeners was a matter of general complaint. Over seventy-five per cent. of the settlers who came with Dr. Cutler and Symmes to the valley of the Miami were mechanics and tradesmen from Boston and other cities and towns of Massachusetts and of the East. For this reason American agriculture, in its lack of scientific system, and in its wasteful methods is the reproach of the world. The American farmer is at once the spoiled heir of our rich soil and the beneficiary of the American mechanic. He has done comparatively little to advance himself in professional skill. His eras of progress are marked by the successive inventions of labor-saving machinery. The farming class having for so long a

period heavily outnumbered the urban population, it then would be indeed strange and highly discreditable to the American people if such a preponderating element had not at least measurably held its own in the production of genius. America is, as yet, an incomplete experiment. In gauging the fertility of her various classes in the production of mental and physical excellence, we are met by a difficulty in that the lines between them are but loosely drawn. Our population is heterogeneous and men change their occupations and residences. Much of the rural population, especially in the West, is recruited from the towns and cities. The cities make heavy drafts upon the population of the country. There is a continuous circulation, so to speak. This being the case it might be well, then, to transfer our investigations to those nations that have preceded us in civilization. Europe and Asia have produced more, and greater geniuses than America has, as yet. But here we meet with the suggestive fact that the larger cities and towns have almost a monopoly of the production of great warriors, statesmen, writers, philosophers, artists, scientists and mechanics. Here is the roster of them: The greatest of cities, London, gives us John Milton, Lord Byron, Edmund Spenser, Wm. Penn and James Oglethorpe. England's second city gives us William Ewart Gladstone. The capitals of Ireland and Scotland give us respectively Thomas Moore and Sir Walter Scott. Bacon, Dickens, Thackeray, Shakspeare, Bunyan and the two Wesleys were town-bred Englishmen. Christopher Columbus, Vespucci, De Soto, Cortez, Magellan, Drake, Raleigh, Champlain, Cabot, La Salle, Capt. John Smith, and in fact nearly all of the great men connected with the discovery and early settlement of America were town-bred boys. So were also Galileo, Angelo, Guttenberg, Caxton, Stevenson, Copernicus and Arkwright. Going far back into antiquity we still find the centers of population the fruitful soil of genius. Refer to Plutarch's Lives in support of this! Miltiades, Aristides, Socrates, Plato, Euclid,

Archimedes, Demosthenes, Herodotus, Xenophon, Homer, Cæsar, Pericles, Alcibiades, Hannibal, Philopœmen, Solon, Lycurgus, Phidias and Praxiteles were from the leading cities of Greece, Italy and Africa. Paul, the most energetic, the boldest and the most cultured of the Apostles, was of Tarsus. Christ himself, born in the town of Bethlehem, was the son of a mechanic.

"Man made the town, but God made the country," is a trite saying often quoted in behalf of rural superiority. But be it remembered that the Hottentot, the Bushman, and savages generally, leave the country as God made it. The felling of trees and building of houses and fences are the first steps in man's mission of subduing nature and glorifying his Maker.

To build a city is the first step of a people that commences a career of civilization and greatness. The Tartars and Bedouins do not build cities, and, to a certain degree they are agricultural; but their very names are synonyms for brutality, cruelty and barbarism. Cities have ever been the nurseries of patriotism and true human liberty. The very terms applied to the economics and amenities of life are but derivatives from the word "city," in various tongues, and have direct reference to the character of city people as distinguished from that of rustics. Civil, civilization, civility, etc., from *civitas*, a city. Urbane and urbanity, also from another Latin term for city. Politeness, policy, politics, police, to polish, etc., from the Greek, *polis*, a city. It may with truth be said that agriculture, in the true signification of the term, owes its being to the requirements of city life. Without a market for the produce of the field, man turns to a pastoral life for sustenance. The husbandman can pursue his peaceful vocation only in the shadow of the city's walls and under the aegis of its protection and by its patronage.

The town boy was derived, largely, from the very *pick*, so to speak, of the rural population, while, on the

other hand, the country boy is bred from the "foolish" who remained to till the fields.

That the town-bred children of rural parentage deteriorate or fail to transmit to their own offspring the mental and physical virtues of their ancestry, is an assertion not borne out by the facts.

The Labor Question Once More.

I am sorry, of course, to differ with the editor of the SOCIAL ECONOMIST, but there is the consolation that out of differences truth very often arises. My study of the labor question, if "from afar," has been fortified by studies at short range, and at no distance have I needed a telescope for perfect vision. I have walked for blocks between the surging and sullen crowds of laborers on the warpath, and the horse-cars which could run only by being filled with policemen. By what right was this terrorizing mass there? Everyone knows that nothing but this police force would have enabled the company to fulfill its duty to the public, simply because the congregated laborers were momently ready to attack the drivers and destroy the cars and track. As it was, they pretty effectually kept the road for awhile from receiving any paying patronage. Now, it is not pertinent, or ethical, or logical, to say that this railroad company is composed of a bad set of men who do not offer enough wages; who got their charter in the wrong way; and who are a grinding monopoly any way. All these things may be perfectly true, or the revolt of labor (which is more likely) may have come because, when one man's time was out, the company—not being bound to keep him longer—chose to get a better and more faithful man. It was the company's clear right to do this, but organized Labor says: "Right or wrong, we won't let the company do it."

I don't mean that the Labor leaders are commonly frank enough to use this exact language; they simply do precisely what this language describes. The Editor says that "Trade Unions nowhere take any such position" as that "to be employed once means a life-right to be retained." Certainly not. They are too politic to define their position in this respect with unmistakable plainness;

but they go on to claim and do what is precisely tantamount to this. The Editor's comparison of the relation of the German people to their Emperor with the relation of factory operatives to the factory owners, which he employs in the argument against my final point, fits my contention exactly in the present point. The Emperor told the Germans who were discontented that they could leave Germany; but they have constitutional rights and can stay. The toilers in a factory, however, have only those rights concerning the factory that their special contract allows; but they are backed by their leaders in claiming a prescriptive right to stay, and to prevent others from taking their places whenever they can make force and the infliction of fear work to this end. The files of every day's papers testify to this. The Editor admits that Labor may "go too far," but that "is because of the absurd, despotic attitude of capitalists in conspiring to black-list all who take a prominent part in the labor movement." But why is it wrong for an employer to hire whom he chooses, and right for an employee to compel him to hire someone he doesn't choose. An employer may, to be sure, be "absurd," but he can't be despotic in exercising a plain legal right. He may refuse to hire men with red hair or men with blue eyes, both of which things it would be very ridiculous to do—but the law allows him to exercise his taste in this fashion.

I have dwelt upon this point because the Labor leaders and those who write their doctrines out for publication, show a moral callousness concerning this physical bulldozing that is universal and amazing. If the officers of a railroad were numerous enough to go to the officers of other railroads and prevent by physical force the men they don't choose to hire from hiring at all, they would be guilty of the same injustice that I condemn.

But the very nomenclature of organized labor reveals its thought. The great mass who don't wish to organize are "scabs" or "rats." Now, who gave the Powderlys

and the Gompers the right to stamp with odium and to starve, when circumstances make it possible, a large mass of clean-handed, deserving toilers, whose only sin is that they think (mistakenly, if you please) that they can sell their own services better themselves, in the long run, than the labor corporation can sell them. The Editor says: "The organized ten per cent." of laborers "benefit the unorganized ninety per cent. They insist that the wages of their laboring brethren shall come up to their own, and thus lift the whole class," etc. But I don't see what right they have to "insist" on anything of the sort. If the ninety per cent. cannot be taught by precept and example what a paradise the ten per cent. of laborers command, I am sure they should not be coerced into it. The right of personal liberty, even when it judges wrongly, is a very dear right and a very safe and wholesome one to possess.

I am glad to learn that organized labor has done much good for itself and others. Any considerable class of which this cannot be said, would be a menace to the Republic. When it has really done good has been, I am sure, when it asked only that justice it was willing to concede. As to the ten per cent. portion of labor having elevated the ninety per cent.'s part, exclusively, without having received some reciprocal benefit from the sturdy independence and efforts of those unorganized, I beg leave to doubt. It is a well known fact that organized labor prevents its adherents from asking *above* a certain price, just as sternly as it prevents them from taking less than a certain price. Its tendency is to a uniformity whereby the more slothful and lazy are leveled up at the expense of those who have ability, genius and industry. On the other hand, many of the unorganized laborers—such as the non-union ones in cities—are frequently paid higher wages than the union ones demand. The reasons for this are manifest. They can be very choice picked men, and whatever they are, they are wholly disconnected from the moral dynamite that may, when least expected, issue in an explosion.

I certainly believe with the Editor that, as a general thing, organized labor cannot be turned from its natural function of lending service to one of directing service. But it is not necessary that over two per cent. of it should be. The organizing and directing faculty often exists where you least expect it. The greatest railroad President and wealthiest man between Chicago and the Pacific Ocean, was first a day laborer on the transportation lines on the Mississippi. The contractors of railroads and factories often come out of the ranks and were past laborers.

Now, if organized labor should scrutinize its own ranks thoroughly, it might often find a few born to lead and direct; and, through the help of these, it could form corporations that would do much to solve the problem that excites labor against capital.

I want to say in conclusion, that in writing what I have, I am moved by no bias towards capital. In any contest between labor and capital, where justice is not infringed, I should prefer to have the economic victory always rest with the forces of labor. And, that I have not misrepresented labor in my criticisms of its prevailing methods, I know by the fact that my positions were taken at first hand, so to speak. They were set down after I had heard one of the greatest of the labor leaders discuss the whole subject, and tell precisely what it is that labor wants. What he said it wanted, and what he defended it for doing, justifies fully my description of its contentions and aims.

JOEL BENTON.

P. S.—Just as I am mailing this article, the strike of the pavers and stone-cutters against a certain quarry company, is disturbing an industry of large extent, at widely scattered points. No question of wages or of hours enters into the dispute. Trades not connected with the stone-cutting, stone-laying or quarry business are asked, and have consented to join in additional strikes, supplementary and helpful to the main strike. The public will suffer from torn-up streets, left torn up and in other ways; so that, as a third party, *it* ought to have something to say in this controversy—started, as all the facts seem to show, in pure frivolity. Some day it *will* have something to say. And it will say that no party, even if it spells its name with a big capital letter, can translate selfish whimsicality into right, and overwhelm the community with a tyranny of Bedlam.

Public School Extensions.

A Republic whose welfare depends upon the training of the masses of its citizens cannot begin too early to look after that training. Nor can it properly finish its task till it sees them well started towards an industrial career such as shall make them useful to the commonwealth. Nevertheless, it cannot hope to make capable and independent citizens by any process which shall confine or restrict their originality, or coddle them into dependence on the care of the government. A middle course must be pursued, such as will develop them according to their personal qualities, while yet making sure that they shall be developed, and not left to chance or their own childish preferences to guide their career in life. Our present public school system is, indeed, a laudable and effective way of helping towards such a consummation as the Republic wishes for its children, and has done its part so well that we may properly look for an extension of its activity to accomplish whatever we desire. We, therefore, have courage to propose an enlargement of its provision at both ends, so that the child of the Republic may have the benefits of public instruction from an earlier age, and to a later age than is now customary. It seems quite feasible to so prolong the State care of its infants as to greatly increase their fitness for citizenship and their chances for a secure and happy career without any exercise of despotic paternalism, or any limitation to their personal differences of talent and character. And to this end, we submit the following scheme of increasing the utility of public schools. Not that there is anything new or strange in the methods proposed, but only a further adaptation of existing methods to public needs.

And the first measure we propose is the extension of the Kindergarten system to public schools. The need and

value of the Kindergarten has made itself felt in every society where it has been introduced. All children above a certain grade of poverty are sent to it as a means, at once, of passing their time and leading them into much primary knowledge under the stimulus of well-devised games. The success reached by this method has already given the lie to that old and much-thrummed proverb, that "there is no royal road to knowledge," by proving that there is such a road—the road of nature, which never should have been left, and which leads to knowledge of such sort as entirely escaped those who whipped their children along the old highway of dull repetition. Now, since the Republic is deeply concerned that all its children should have the best attainable start in life, and since, as a matter of fact, those who have least at home are those who need most of the public, and since nothing can be costlier for the Republic than a large lower class of ill-taught and unresourceful citizens, would it not be wise and a measure of mere public economy to provide for our children, in their earliest youth, places of instruction adapted to tender years? In Kindergartens, the public, through its teachers, would seize upon the infant mind in its first and most impressionable years of growth; would teach it order, system, cleanliness, the habit of attention—which is the most important of intelligent habits, and give it such an introduction to the world of knowledge as would make that world seem attractive forever after. The future citizen would thus be put into a genial relation to the social world of his time, and removed from the narrow and often illiterate surroundings of his home into a new and higher world of customs and thoughts.

So far as the child himself is concerned, the gain would be immense, and the lower down his parents were in the social scale the greater would be the gain of the child. The mere removal for a few hours daily from squalid and overcrowded rooms to a well-aired and comfortable apartment, from the company of an overworked

and irritable parent to the supervision of a well-dressed and even-tempered teacher, would be a new stimulus to improvement. The fact that the child would be washed and brushed up to present a respectable appearance, alone would act as a powerful factor towards improvement. The chance for associating with other children in interesting games and pastimes, under such oversight as would prevent any mischief from arising, would still further enhance the value of this discipline. In such companionship, the influence of the best is sure to be stronger than that of the worst. Constant urgency on the part of the teachers towards the better, produces an unconscious habit of looking for the better which is invaluable. Restraint of evil impulses, bad tempers, bad manners, bad words, low instincts, tends to cut them short before they have had a chance to imbed themselves in tissue, and establish their forces physiologically in the corporeal system.

And here again, we can see that possibly the addition of Kindergartens to the public curriculum might readily furnish that very discipline which our public schools so far are very much complained of for not giving. It is now urged with some show of reason that our educational methods are too intellectual merely, and do not produce in their pupils that quality of good character and morality which everyone must desire to see. It is held by some that an education often serves only to make more acute criminals, more wily and dangerous disturbers, more accomplished scoundrels than were known before education became common. Some even go so far as to say that society is actually worsened by universal education, since so many use their better trained minds for nefarious and harmful pursuits.

But while we do not at all agree with such views, we easily agree that our present system leaves much to be desired in the direction indicated. And we can easily lay these defects to the fact that we do not get hold of children at a sufficiently early age—that they are left to form bad

habits at ages when most habits are formed and fixed, and that our later education, therefore, can do but little to change the basis of character and give the right bend to the growing twig. The infant is as wax to be molded into any chosen shape; the child of seven is already a half determined creature, whom one may develop but not transform. We should begin younger. We should take him in the pulpy stage before he reaches the gristle. Character starts early, and we should be up betimes to start with it. Maxims and intrusions can do little to change it when once confirmed, but a discipline in good habits and a training to amiable behavior at the outset, such as Kindergartens furnish by the very nature of their methods, will sink deep and last long. When a child has learned to dislike being dirty or having soiled clothes, it is already on the way to much virtue. When it has learned to love knowledge about things, as the methods of such schools so genially incite it to do, it has already lifted its head above many of the lower temptations of evil. When it has learned to play with other children in a sweet-tempered and self-forgetful manner, it has already acquired the first requisites for society and for living on good terms with fellow creatures anywhere.

All these things cannot be taught in the later schools, because the demands of the three R's are there too imperative. The intellect must then be trained for the needs of life. There is no room for the pursuits of the gentler graces and the amenities of character, and it would do little good to pursue them there. They, therefore, who clamor for, and they who clamor against the Bible in schools as likely to produce a deep impression on the moral character of pupils, are both belated reformers. The time has gone by to effect the objects at which they aim. They are talking about coloring the blossoms after the fruit is set. But the public Kindergarten would take the matter in hand in good season, and set the faces of its toddlers towards good before they knew right hand from left, and so give to the

Republic citizens whose early bias towards social improvement would raise them easily above the level of any citizenship heretofore seen on the planet. The invasion made by this means into the ranks of the criminal classes would be effective and wide-reaching. It would attack the haunts of vice in their most secret recesses.

Besides all this, one should also consider the escape from misery and squalor on the part of tender little creatures during several hours of every day. How much this alone would add to the sum of human happiness! Our fresh-air funds have notoriously given great benefits to the children of the poor already. But such benefits are occasional, intermittent and feeble. Yet, our good people are liberal in contributing to such alleviations of the lot of the poor. Our idea reaches much farther than that and goes to the establishment of institutions which shall make a similar relief daily and hourly. It shall be so organic as to enter into the constitutions and minds of the masses of the population. It shall be a permanent public sunshine, a home of amusement and pleasure, a daily training to happiness, a daily tonic to nerve and body. It will do much to abolish that all-prevailing childhood's ennui which leads so many youngsters into mischief, maliciousness and cruelty. Everybody knows that the child is a world of activity, of questions, of curiosities, of aimless desires. Half the wretchedness of childhood is brought about by the failure of society to provide for the gratification of its impulses and requirements. We have a world selfishly made up for grown people. Our own matters are carefully attended to; we contrive occupations and amusements for ourselves, and now the children of the rich are also listened to and arranged for; but those of the poor—multitudes and throngs of them—are left to blind nature, to the accident of neighborhood and chance, to their own poor devices. And if they grow up discontented, grumbling and dismal, it is partly the result of their neglected childhood, which gave them a habit of unhappiness in their early

years. And it is certainly worth while for the Republic to provide other means of training, such as shall save from wretchedness at least a part of the time—a full half of the natives of our commonwealth. Our people are our wealth, and, therefore, we cannot have them too rich in enjoyment. Happiness certainly is the only reasonable object of any existence, and while it would be going too far to make it directly the purpose of government, yet where happiness as a result accompanies the promotion of the public welfare, we may pursue the latter all the more vigorously.

But not only is the happiness of children thereby promoted, but also that of the households from which they come. The relief afforded to overworked mothers of the lower classes by such provision for their little ones would be very great. That instinct of well-to-do people which removes the children to a nursery of their own, where the family is relieved of the worry and confusion of the youngest, is a sound one. It tends to the improvement of both parties. The young thrive better and the old work better. And the Kindergarten would be such a kind of public segregation of all the children into a nursery, so that all parents might be free to follow their labors uninterruptedly. An immense number of hands would thus be set free to more important pursuits for much of the day, and the Republic would gain the aggregate wealth of their increased production to its own resources. The temper of the household would also be wonderfully improved. There is, indeed, no way in which the Republic could reach down into the masses of its population to instruct, immigrate and civilize them better than by this agency, since it extends itself into every household and almost to the very cradle.

A reflex action not anticipated by the early promoters of private Kindergartens, is also worthy of comment. For, whereas, at their commencement, it was often found that a large part of a teacher's duty was to wash and comb the little waifs who came to them, it was later found to be true

that this washing and combing was taken up at home, and the children began to come to school neatly fixed up for the day. Here was an effect of civilization stealing, as it were, backward from child to parent; and mothers who had never thought of cleanliness as an object of desire to either infant or grown, themselves received by the object lesson of their own offspring their first tuition in this cardinal grace.

And here it is indeed that one catches a glimpse of the searching and pervasive force which the Republic may use to reach its lowest classes by taking hold of their little ones through the agency of public kindergartens. Here one can see the method of raising the masses in such a way as to give no offense but rather to earn gratitude. "A little child shall lead them." What books and lectures and societies have failed to do, and what they must always fail to do by reason of their inapplicability to the circumstances of so many, can be quietly and thoroughly done through the agency of children taken up in this way. And the child itself as it grows older will inevitably bring so many new notions of living, such acquired habits of intelligence and order, as must rapidly regenerate the household itself through its positive demands for a higher standard of living. Manners, morals, customs and ideas must all be improved to suit the new training of the rising generation.

And especially is it true that by no other means could the Republic extend its influence and renovating power so easily and deeply into the families of the foreigners who are now seeking our shores in such numbers. We complain of their low character and alien methods of thought, but still they come, and whether we will or no, we have them to assimilate. The quicker we can do that the better. The more rapidly they imbibe our ways and customs the greater our gain. And what could be more effective and penetrating than that their nurslings should come under the influence of our native born at once—should be thrown where they would be sure to learn our language as natives,

and our ways of thought as to the manor born? They then returning daily to their homes would carry into every tenement house, every alley and by-street, the traditions of our better classes, the new wine of the American spirit. They would abolish the socialist and anarchist notions bred under monarchies by the mere sweet-breathed utterances of reasonable because natural liberty. They would tend to improve all households and bring cleanliness and order out of dirt and disorder, and turn moony dreamers of social regeneration into careful and attentive fathers of families. The field of influence here is wide and deep. A transformation of our foreign population, more rapid than one could hope for by ordinary methods, would set in, and even the old would gradually be changed through the change in their offspring. And how strong and warm would be the attachment of all classes to a Republic which took into its fostering care even the least of these its citizens, and tried to make for them a surrounding such as would ensure their greatest success and happiness in life. Here is our true field and here the welfare of our future.

We shall treat of our second point—the extension of public training to later years—in another article.

People's Clubs.

It is generally admitted that one of the greatest needs of the day is to find a place of resort for the people such as would give them the advantages of a club. Most men, when they have finished their work, require some place where they can find bright and cheerful surroundings, and persons with whom they can exchange thoughts on the passing events of the day. The well-to-do classes have for this purpose their clubs, where they find acquaintances, eat and drink at reasonable prices, and enjoy such attractions as papers, magazines, books, billiards and other diversions. The people at large have, however, no such resorts, and as they have in a great measure the same nature and needs as their more wealthy neighbors, they naturally require the same gratifications.

The question then arises whether it is not possible to establish suitable places which would have the advantage of the club and do away with its disadvantages. We think it reasonable to believe that if a certain sort of People's Clubs were organized and properly managed, they would offer such a desirable resort to all. They should be open to all men, and there they should be able to get a good plain meal and all kinds of drinks, except strong liquors, at a trifle above cost.

These places should be neatly, comfortably and cheerfully furnished. The walls should have light, attractive paper and amusing or interesting engravings. They should be lighted by electricity, and the chairs should be comfortable. There should always be at least two rooms—one front to be used as a restaurant and drinking place, where men could come with their families for meals, and a rear room, which should be the club proper, where all papers, magazines, books and a billiard table could be found; and smoking and drinking should be allowed in both. Twice

a week free discussions or concerts of popular music might take place, and when possible the musicians should be members of the club. The food and drink should be served in a neat and attractive manner, and they should be of good quality and properly prepared. The coffee, tea, chocolate, lemonade and all similar drinks should be of the very best; in fact, the People's Clubs should build up a reputation for having the best of these drinks, and they should be furnished at a very trifling advance over cost, so as to encourage persons to take these in preference to beer and wines.

These People's Clubs should be managed on purely business principles; there should be no charity about them, but they should furnish good food and drink at low rates. The profits should be used to improve the Clubs and add to their attractiveness; and when they have reached a certain stage of growth, and after a contingent fund has been established, then it should go towards establishing other People's Clubs. Light wines, beer, segars and tobacco should be sold at a fair profit, but they should all be of good quality.

Every day there should be served a breakfast consisting of coffee, tea or chocolate, bread and butter, and oatmeal with sugar and cream; steaks or chops or some kind of boiled or fried fish, with a baked potato, should also be had when desired, and fruit in season, all at a trifling advance over cost, in which is to be included rent, fire, gas, help, washing, etc., etc. For dinner there should be one dish of stew made of good material and prepared in the most appetizing manner, (this should be the staple dish), or a cut of mutton or beef, or fish with a vegetable and potatoes and coffee or tea, with bread and butter. A piece of pie and a bit of cheese might be added at a trifling advance, and a plate of soup at still further light addition. The exact prices at which these things can be furnished has not yet been fully decided, but it will be exceedingly reasonable. All goods used by the People's

Clubs should be analyzed to find if they are pure, and none other should ever be used.

It is proposed to make these clubs so attractive as to draw to themselves a regular attendance of large numbers of men who have now no congenial place in which to spend their evenings, and where they will find that sociability for which most have a craving. They are intended as a place of re-union for all the people of the neighborhood, as well as for any one else who chooses to enter, and to give them all the comforts and advantages to be found in clubs, without the attendant drawbacks. Let us see what advantages the People's Club will offer and what annoyances they will avoid. The attractions will be:

1. Neat, cheerful, comfortable, well-heated, properly ventilated places where good meals are to be had at a little above cost, and really for less price than they could be furnished by the people at their own homes, for as the clubs would buy everything from first hands and sell at a small profit, they would secure such at less than the prices to the ordinary consumer.

2. They will find in these clubs the daily and weekly papers, magazines, and some books. Writing paper should be furnished free.

3. Billiards at low prices in those places where there is room, and also bowling where it is possible to have it.

4. The rear room is also to be used as a conversation room, and in this room a large sign should be displayed, on which should be painted: "Welcome to all; let no one be considered a stranger; treat others as you wish to be treated."

Some member of the club should be elected to attend as host every evening in the conversation room, so as to extend to every comer a welcome greeting. This host should be elected once a month, and he should not hold office more than once a year for a month at a time. There should also be an assistant host chosen, and holding office

like the host, who is to take his place when unavoidably absent.

A man's dress and appearance should not be a prejudice to his coming to these People's Clubs, provided he be clean in appearance and well-behaved. No untidy or noisy people should be allowed. Good fellowship should exist among all the persons patronizing these People's Clubs.

These clubs should eventually also furnish meals to families, thus enabling them to get good food without the trouble of fires and cooking and the consequent loss of time to women which might be used to better purpose.

It will cost nothing to become a member of these People's Clubs, just as it costs nothing to become a member of the City Improvement Society. This society will exert its best endeavors to have such clubs established, thinking that it cannot do the people a greater service than to encourage the establishment of places where men can find all the attractions of the club without its drawbacks, for they are frequently expensive, unsociable, pretentious, and offer little in return. The People's Club should be a cheerful and attractive place, where everyone can enter, eat and drink as much or little as he pleases, without being uncivilly treated if he spends little, as is frequently the case at restaurants; be sure of getting everything of good quality well cooked and neatly served, good attendance, plenty of comfort, have the privilege of staying as long or short a time as he pleases, make it his lounging place, and in fact such a resort as one will always leave with regret and revisit with pleasure. Should the City Improvement Society be successful in having such clubs established, then indeed it will feel that it has done some good. Such a place it hopes to see started in the Fall. This is one of the proper missions of this Society, for what greater improvement could be introduced than one which will give men a sociable, attractive and elevating place wherein to spend their leisure?

I. WM. DEJONGE.

"Bad Times Ahead" for England.

From reading Free-Trade papers in this country, one would suppose that England is a sort of industrial millenium. We are constantly assured that business prosperity is more constant and more progressive there than in any other country, and all because England has Free Trade. If we read the papers published in England, however, we find a very different view is entertained. Lord Salisbury's recent speech at Hastings was an official announcement of what is being heard in an undertone all over the country. It is needless to say that the leader of a great political party just on the eve of an election will be very careful in his public utterances to say the sort of things which he has the best reason to expect will meet with a ready response from the mass of voters. Therefore, when Lord Salisbury announced as a sort of keynote to the coming campaign that Free Trade had not fulfilled the claims of its supporters, and that if England intended to hold her own as a commercial nation, she must do as other nations do, resort to a protective policy, it is manifested that discontent with industrial conditions in general and with Free trade in particular is becoming quite pronounced.

In confirmation of this view we quote the following from a leading editorial in the "Times and Echo" (London), of May 22nd, under the caption of "Bad Times Ahead."

"The sternest of all teachers—adversity—is about to lend an irresistible impetus to the demand of labor for shorter hours, better wages, and a greater share in legislation. That sounds like a paradox to begin with, to many people. Already, some of the capitalist organs whose conductors are keen-sighted enough to perceive the rocks ahead in the troubled sea of Commercialism, are benevolently preaching to workingmen about the duty of accepting lower wages, if certain industries now in low water are to

be still carried on, and we shall hear a deal more of this foolish counsel during the next eighteen months. The state of the shipping trade just now, alone, is portentous. There are 243 vessels idle on the Tyne alone, with an aggregate tonnage of 197,874 tons. There are numbers also in the Wear and at West Hartelpool. Altogether, some 400 steamers are laid up, with a consequently enforced idleness of possibly 7,000 men. This is the middle of May, when the shipments to Cronstadt have begun, and when there should be activity at the seaports, and it is a fact which tells a gloomy tale of the position of shipping. All over the kingdom it is alike. The great iron industries are flagging, and the last Trade Returns are terribly indicative of diminished trade everywhere. The causes are manifold. The Protective policy of America, as finally embodied in the McKinley Tariff, has dealt a blow, for the time at any rate, to European trade, and to that of this country, of which we are just beginning to feel the results."

And after severely criticising the attitude of the English statesman towards industrial questions, the "Times and Echo" declares that:

"Such a Government and such a body of Legislators as we have at present are incompetent to deal with the great Labor and Social problems. They do not understand them. The common sense of the workers needs infusing into their councils, and this can only be done by the admission into the House of Commons of a strong band of real labor representatives. The next Government, made up from which side of the House it may be, if it endures anything like as long as that which is dying daily by inches, will most certainly have to choose between two things. It will have to solicit the help of the people—the real people—to meet the troublous times that are coming. It will have to cut down the waste of public money, and strip every Royal sinecurist of his stolen wealth, or presently, it will have to encounter a storm of indignation such as has not raged in England in our days, or in the days of our fathers, and which may well bring down with it much respectable lumber that many of us are accustomed to regard as eternal as the hills, but which is really so much mere stage scenery ready to collapse at any moment."

It is apparent to any student of economics not handicapped by the *Laissez-faire* fetish that England is going to be forced by the inevitable trend of industrial revolution to make a radical change in her economic policy. England's Free Trade was made possible forty years ago by her practical monopoly of machinery. She could never have held her own against continental competition if she had not been able to more than offset the low labor cost of continental laborers with the greater economy of her superior machinery. The truth of Mulhall's statement* that the use of machinery enables England, “as far as labor is concerned, to undersell continental nations by 12 per cent. although our (English) wages are almost double” lessens with every introduction of English and American machinery into other countries, without a relative rise in wages. Continental nations are thus gradually coming to occupy the same competitive relation to England that England now occupies to the United States, and are able to undersell her to the extent of the difference in their rates of wages.

This process has already begun to exercise a marked influence in many industries, being the most serious where England has most relied upon a foreign market. Hence it is not surprising that faith in the infallibility of Free Trade should begin to give way and a revival of the protective spirit makes its appearance. Unless English statesmen recognize this economic movement and appreciate the necessity of protecting England's higher wage level from competition with lower wage countries, she is doomed to an industrial conflict which will finally compel a radical readjustment of her economic relations.

English statesmen are so dominated with the “let-alone” doctrine of political economy that they can hardly be expected to see that England's success under Free Trade was due rather to her peculiar industrial condition than to the virtue of a *laissez faire* policy. Hence their aversion to

* “History of Prices,” p. 57. 1885

adopt a scientific system of protection and the development of a home market through increasing the social opportunities of the laboring classes is not surprising. But facts are stern teachers, for which English statesmen have always shown a respectful regard. So we find the leaders of both political parties and the press compelled by the logic of events to advocate what, but a short time ago, they all treated as the veriest heresy. To secure the votes of the farmers, Lord Salisbury is constrained to talk protection, and to secure the votes of the trade-unions and intelligent mechanics, Mr. Gladstone, despite his recent declarations to the contrary, has announced his readiness to consider the proposition for a legal Eight Hour system. Thus, after all, it is the demands of the people that really determine the action of statesmen, and he is the most successful statesman who most correctly interprets the industrial and social wants of the masses.

In this country the industrial demands of workingmen are not in the direction of Free Trade, but toward shorter hours of labor and better social possibilities for wage-workers, and the political party that most clearly recognizes this and acts upon it will have the easiest road to pass over.

The Value of Silver.

In your criticism of an article by James H. Brown, on "A Way to Equalize Gold and Silver," in the March issue of the SOCIAL ECONOMIST, you make the assertion that:

"The only reason an ounce of gold is worth sixteen times as much as an ounce of silver is that it cost sixteen times as much to produce it." This sounds like a very hasty assertion to one who has lived in the mining districts for over twenty years and closely observed mining operations. As a matter of fact, the average cost of producing an ounce of gold is far less than the cost of production of an ounce of silver, gold ores as a rule requiring a much cheaper treatment. For example, gold ore valued at \$5.00 a ton can frequently be treated at a good profit where silver ore of twice the value per ton would never be taken from the dump at the mine.

It strikes me, though I confess I have not made a life-long study of the subject, that the best way to equalize gold and silver is to enact such legislation as to put the two metals on a relative equality before the law. The financial crime of demonetizing silver, perpetrated in 1873, secretly by some of the so-called statesmen of to-day, should never be condoned; and on the other hand men who really love their country should never relax their efforts until the perpetrators of this crime are made political back numbers in the nation's history, and the staple metal of the world restored to its proper place in the currency. "Fools rush in where angels fear to tread," and the "folly" of the masses in demanding the rehabilitation of silver with its money function, may shock the "angelic" wisdom of the Wall Street interest of the country. Yet the belief is beginning to force itself upon the people that the "wisdom" that has enabled the Goulds and Vanderbilts to accumulate millions in a comparatively short period is some-

how antagonistic to the prosperity of the masses. While no well-balanced mind can conceive of that Utopian condition when all the wealth of the world can either be equally distributed or remain so, if by any miracle such temporary distribution could be made, it is easy to see that any system which oppresses the debtor class is a violation of the eternal equity that should control the social economy.

I beg to differ with the editor of the *ECONOMIST* in saying that quantity has nothing to do with the relative value of gold and silver. The law of supply and demand must ever regulate values. What the silver men wish to do is to so regulate the supply of money (silver as well as gold and paper) as to meet the demands of the people of the United States. With a per capita circulation of about half of what France possesses, the cry of the gold-bug alarmist against the free coinage of silver is the veriest bosh. The contraction of the currency which they seek is wholly contrary to the interest of the people who demand sufficient money to carry on the commerce of the nation. When gold and silver are equally recognized as a legal tender for all debts, and the privilege of free coinage is impartially extended to the owners of both metals, then will the equalization of gold and silver be effected.

P. A. LEONARD.

The idea that the relative value of gold and silver is governed by their relative cost of production is evidently new to Mr. Leonard. Nor are we surprised that "this sounds like a very hasty assertion to one who has lived in the mining districts for over twenty years." The assertion that "the law of supply and demand must ever regulate values" is also what might be expected from one who confesses that he has not made a special study of the subject, as Mr. Leonard does. If Mr. Leonard would try to explain why an ounce of gold, which was once worth only nine ounces of silver, came to be worth 16 and now in the market is actually worth about 23 ounces of silver, he will find that

the law of supply and demand will furnish him no aid. The supply of both metals has for centuries been about equally adjusted to the demand, and still the relative value of silver has steadily fallen. And why does the relative value of wheat and potatoes differ, since the relative supply and demand of both are about the same? It is needless to say that the cause of the difference in both cases cannot be traced to anything but the cost of production. It costs more to supply a bushel of wheat than it does a bushel of potatoes, and it costs more to supply an ounce of gold than an ounce of silver, or an ounce of iron, and that is why the price is higher.

His remark that "gold ore valued at \$5.00 a ton can frequently be treated at a good profit where silver ore of twice the value per ton would never be taken from the dump at the mine," merely means that the cost of getting the silver out is so much greater than the cost of getting the gold out as to eat up the superior value in the ton of the silver; otherwise he is really saying that miners prefer \$5.00 in gold to \$10.00 in silver, which is ridiculous. There is no reason why anybody would give \$5.00 a ton for gold ore except that after refining it he can get at least his \$5.00 back and what it costs to refine it; and the only reason people would not take silver ore from the dump free is that they could not get for it the cost of refining. Indeed, the fact that people would not take the silver ore from the dump free, shows that it is not "twice the value" of the gold ore for which they will give \$5.00 a ton.

When the silver men can show how the value of wheat and potatoes can be equalized independent of the cost of production, their talk about equalizing the value of gold and silver by free coinage will be entitled to serious consideration, and not until then.—[ED.]

The "Citizen" and Rome.

The *Cleveland Citizen* reproves our article on "The Decline of Rome," which it would be unjust to attribute to Mr. Gunton, and still thinks that decline due to immorality occasioned by the increase of wealth and luxury. It alleges that Venice and Carthage also fell because of the rottenness brought on by riches. But if the critic would read a little he would discover that Carthage was ruined by Roman soldiers exactly as a capitalist might be by Sicilian banditti, and that Venice decayed because she lost her importance as the maritime mart of the East and West owing to the opening of overland routes. She decayed when she lost her trade and consequent wealth.

Likewise is the writer at fault when he replies that Rome fell because of "the richness of the few and the poverty of the many." He should reflect that a savage tribe where not "the many" but all are poor, does not get up high enough to fall, and therefore the poverty of the many cannot be a cause of fall because it gives no elevation to fall from. "The richness of the few" is not open to the same objection, because that at least furnishes all the elevation there is, since no all-poor people is ever elevated; nevertheless the richness of the few, being of benefit to the state and to all, is not a cause of decline.

Nor is he any nearer right in attributing the decline of Rome to the ill-feeling which sprang up among the poor against the rich, whose wealth was the only cause of the greatness of the State. There was even less dissension between rich and poor under the Empire in Rome than there had been in the Republic, where it had often culminated in street riots and civil war. But unless it broke out into civil contention it is not easy to see how mere ill-feeling could produce a national decline. If, in spite of such ill-feeling, everybody continued to engage in productive enterprises

and so increase the "few rich" to many rich, there could be no decline, because such productiveness would inevitably produce prosperity. And on the other hand, if there were no ill-feeling and no increase of production proportionate to increase of population, decline would begin with perfect certainty. The question would turn then simply on the issue of the amount of production. It is this point which we were endeavoring to make visible.

But if the *Citizen* thinks that the ill-will of the many poor against the few rich is sure to produce such domestic discord as will impede production, it should say so, since then it would still keep in front the real issue. This notion seems to be held by thinkers of the *Citizen* school, and desperate results are often threatened in consequence. The French Revolution, and Corn Law riots, and Russian Nihilism, and existing anarchism are held up as types and menaces of terrible things likely to happen, if things go on as they are, and many uneasy people do not get what they want peaceably. That is to say, if they cannot rule they will ruin, if they cannot get what they never made, they will rob those who do make it.

This idea is a folly of crude and illogical minds which fail to see that where all are poor, the poorest are poorer than where some are rich. In their zeal to abolish poverty, they threaten to abolish such wealth as there is. Of course a rapidly increasing and general prosperity like ours is in no danger from such frantic notions. A free and industrial society will not go crazy all together.

Anyway, nothing of this sort happened in Rome, but rather the contrary. Rome was not industrial, did not devote herself to production, did grow poor because of an absence of production, and so went into decline. Ill-will between classes had nothing to do with it, but increasing poverty did.

Doubtless the evils and vices which the *Citizen* attributes to the Roman State existed, justice was sold, there was debauchery and slavery, palaces were built, and there were

great feasts and games, and splendor, and all the rest of it. Perhaps none of these evils ever came into existence among Tartars, or Bedouins; certainly games, splendor, palaces and feasts did not and do not. These and the sale of justice and conspicuous dissipation can only exist where there is wealth, and to try to reduce such evils by destroying wealth is like burning down a barn to get rid of rats. But still it is better to have houses with rats, if you please, in the walls, than to dwell in tents. But really to group palaces and feasts with debauchery and the sale of justice as vices, is like grouping statues with murder, and oil-paintings with assault and battery. The confusion of mind which couples the production of palaces with bribery of judges is almost hopeless. Of course where the palace is built by unpaid labor it is robbery; but where it is paid for according to an agreed scale it is just as legitimate as the purchase of a barrel of flour or a load of hay. The essential feature of any transaction is that it be paid for according to contract, and so long as that is the case, justice is done in the exchange of economic equivalents, which is its most essential form. But there never was a time in Rome when things were juster than during its decline. "The sturdy old race that had planted itself by the Tiber in the days of Romulus" as the *Citizen* so finely says, was a band of robbers, a banditti so disreputable that no one would give them even women for wives. They had all the vices of bandits who plunder, steal, maim, ravish and kill without mercy, law or remorse. And to call in their virtues as against the time of the Antonines, or even of Augustulus, is like holding up our "border ruffians" against New York and Boston. If Rome died "like a spendthrift in want," it was because of her want only. And all that we contend for is that want, (or poverty, its other name) kills always, while nothing else does kill.

The "awful example" lesson which the *Citizen* holds up to us is therefore a wasted lecture, unless it means that we should be careful above all things not to come to want,

and to see to it carefully that we do not, in which case we agree with it and congratulate the writer on his clever appropriation of our contention. But if it really thinks as it says, that "America is driving along the same lines as Rome (sic) in its decline," we venture to say that this is silly, since Rome was getting poor and America is getting rich. Ruin is the end of failing, not of increasing, resources. No man or nation is going down hill when he is going up. "Carrying elections by money" is bad, but not half so bad as carrying them by civil war inside of the city as was done by Plebs and Patrician in the early days of Rome, and is still done in South America. When people are poor they fight, when they are rich they pay, and the latter is as much better as a market is better than a raid. When few are rich and many poor, the remedy is to make more rich, as there are too many poor already, and that is just what machinery and commerce and multiplication of products are now doing for our own laboring classes.

"The sores, ulcers and poisoned blood" of the *Citizen*, its "diseases of the body politic," are ancient and well-worn metaphors, meaning nothing in particular and usually denoting a sad lack of attention to the matter in hand. They take the place of thought. So also does "drunk with excess" and the rest of those phrases. The worst of them is that their rhetoric misleads the rhetorician. In fact there are no such things.

There are improvements to be made in advancing societies and on old methods in every direction, and there are various discomforts arising from new conditions, but these are no more "sores and ulcers" than the fact that an immigrant who takes a wild farm does not find a house and tools on it, is a sore or an ulcer, unpleasant though it be. "Diseases of the body politic" would mean merely a bad custom, as where a ring runs a city for plunder and not for the public good; but it isn't a disease, it is the dishonesty of some citizens, a thing never far distant from any society. "Drunk with excess" isn't possible to a state where most

people haven't even enough. All these figures and images are borrowed from a false theory of society, namely, that it is an organism and has diseases like an organism, whereas the true theory is that society is a machinery and not an organism, and like other machinery may have many defects and faults which may be mended or improved as time goes on, and are. But government is only a machinery for improving the condition of men, and as such needs perpetual watching and adjustment to make it work well. But as such it is no more liable to diseases, sores and ulcers than is a walking-beam or a cotton mill. It is liable to fracture and may *always* be improved and is *always* improving, but such improvement is made little by little, and never by doing away with former improvements.

But what we wish to enforce is that what the *Citizen* ranks as a cause of decline is really a source of prosperity everywhere, and therefore could not have been a cause of the Roman decline, and will not be of ours if we ever come to such result.

Editorial Crucible.

Correspondence on all economic and Political topics is invited, but all communications whether conveying facts, expressing opinions or asking questions, either for private use or for publication, must bear the writer's full name and address. And when answers are desired other than through the magazine, or manuscripts returned, communications must be accompanied by requisite return postage.

The editors are responsible only for the opinions expressed in unsigned articles. While offering the freest opportunity for intelligent discussion and cordially inviting expressions of well digested opinions, however new and novel, they reserve themselves the right to criticise freely all views presented in signed articles whether invited or not.

THE INDEX for Volumes I. and II. of the SOCIAL ECONOMIST is now ready, and will be sent to any who request it.

THE CATALOGUE of the COLLEGE OF SOCIAL ECONOMICS for 1892-93 is now ready, and will be sent free on application. We shall be pleased to answer any inquiries regarding special studies or other matters not found in the book.

AMONG THE SUBJECTS that will be discussed in the July SOCIAL ECONOMIST are Economic Issues in the Coming Campaign; The Uneconomic Use of Trusts; Edward Atkinson's Economic Methods; and probably an article by Tom Mann (Trade Union representative on the English Royal Labor Commission) on the Industrial Aspect of the Parliamentary Election.

HENRY GEORGE's paper, *The Standard*, devotes considerable space to the moral of the granite strike, in which it shows everybody to be wrong, and concludes with wisely remarking that there is a simple and effective way

out of all this—the way of justice. Throw open natural opportunities to all by exacting for public needs a rental for the use and occupation of such natural opportunities, and there will speedily cease to be a labor problem, the long war between labor and capital will end in social and economic peace, and both laborer and capitalist shall receive their earnings. To the single taxers this is doubtless very clear, but to practical people it sounds like talking in the air. The difficulty with such people is that the nearer you come to the adoption of their notions the more impotent they appear.

THE *Locomotive Fireman's Magazine* appears to have a very poor opinion of Mr. Edward Atkinson and his work. In a scathing article which has been reprinted by other labor papers, it says:

“Edward Atkinson is, doubtless, the most venomous enemy of workingmen to be found in the country. As a statistician he makes his figures lie, and his arguments, based on his statistics, are always specious, vicious and essentially false. He has earned the contempt of all enlightened workingmen, and, we doubt not, a large share of scorn from those who are the beneficiaries of his work.”

Doubtless the language of the *Locomotive Firemen's Magazine* is harsh and rude, but it represents the way in which Mr. Atkinson's work is being regarded by a constantly increasing number of the community. His conclusions are so constantly opposed to ameliorating efforts of the laborers, that intelligent workmen have regarded with suspicion anything he says on industrial affairs, and his statements of fact are so sweeping and dogmatic that careful statisticians distrust him, so that he is becoming less and less of an authority on either industrial facts, economic theory, or public policy.

ACCORDING to the report of the English Royal Commission on Labor, the shoe industry of Yorkshire, like the cotton industry of Lancashire, is becoming subject to more

frequent and severe periods of depression. The testimony of the Leeds Boot and Shoe Makers' Association brings out the important fact that although wages are much lower in England than in America the labor cost on each pair of shoes is higher there than here. The facts presented here are that £100 worth of boots in Leeds costs £33 in labor, while in America the labor cost in £100 worth of boots is only £17; and the witness adds: "The difference is on account of machinery." "At the same time workmen in America get higher wages than Englishmen." In reply to a question from a Commissioner as to whether Englishmen could produce shoes cheaper than Americans if they use the same machinery, the witness said: "Yes, because wages in England are less than in America." This states the whole case. The reason why England cannot compete with America in the manufacture of shoes is that although she pays lower wages she cannot make them as cheaply, because she employs poorer methods. The development of better methods in America is one of the results of protecting the development of our large home market. Of course, if England should adopt American machinery, she could undersell us by the difference in her wages, unless we are protected to that extent. The Free Trader who cannot see this must be blind indeed.

"THE EVOLUTIONIST," the official organ of the Brooklyn Ethical Association, for June, contains a letter from Mr. Herbert Spencer on "Peace between Nations," in which he recommends ethical societies and evolutionists generally to turn all their efforts to the suppression of militancy, and says: "Abundant proof exists that with war comes all the vices, and with peace all the virtues. The suppression of international antagonisms is the one reform which will bring all other moral reforms." We heartily agree with Mr. Spencer that vices accompany war and virtues peace, but we cannot agree that virtues can be multiplied by suppressing militancy. Militancy is but the form of police

power required in a certain state of civilization, and is as necessary as a municipal police force, or the lock on our doors. We hesitate to criticise the great apostle of evolution. Nevertheless, it does seem from his recent writings, of which this expression is typical, that he is not entirely out of the metaphysical ruts. While war is always to be avoided, except as a last resource for protection, peace,—that is, the mere absence of militancy—is no guaranty of the growth of virtue. China has peace in this sense, but her advance in civilization is practically *nil*. The virtues of mankind come by the broadening and refining influences which introduce a more complex social life, whether they are produced by peace or war. To say that the suppression of international antagonism is the one reform which will bring all other moral reforms, seems to us to be very poor evolution, because it ignores the social and economic forces which are indispensable to all moral advance. The economic and social advance of society does not depend on the abolition of armies or policemen, but the abolition of these depends on the economic and moral advance of society. Instead, therefore, of saying with Mr. Spencer: Suppress militancy, and all economic and moral reforms will be added, we would say—Make the economic and social development of the masses “the primary thesis of your teaching,” and militancy will inevitably disappear.

SENATOR COLQUITT, of Georgia, evidently thinks that it is the duty of a good Democrat to insist that nothing but evil can come from a Republican rule, and in order to make out his case, is willing not only to deny our national progress, but to insist that our people are becoming worse off. In his article in the *North American Review*, for June, he says:

“There are signs of increased luxury among the rich. The increase of wealth has added to the gratification of the few, but this has been followed by a falling off of the means of the many. Hence, private wealth and public

want abound, and we have the anomaly of increased wealth and no diminution of poverty."

This shows how utterly reckless or ignorant a United States Senator can be. If Senator Colquitt has paid any attention to the industrial history of this country, or even of the South itself, he must know that this is the opposite of true. It would never be possible that there should be one class growing richer and all other classes poorer, at the same time, unless the first were banditti and the second plundered civilians. The South, before the war, had such a society, and Senator Colquitt, who saw slave-owners rioting in luxury while slaves went in rags, may, perhaps, be pardoned for having a swell society in mind. But in an industrial society, such as now reigns in the South, he has but to look round and see how wealth has been equalized between former slave and master. The slave is now a property-holder and not ragged, while the master does something and cannot afford to be idle. And everywhere there, wealth has so increased that all classes are as much better off than formerly as a house-dog is better off than a prairie wolf. Senator Colquitt, however, is fond of playing to the galleries, and so repeats the stale falsehoods of anti-Republican demagogues, without a moment's consideration of their real character. If anybody can find any place or country in the world where the rich grew richer, while the poor grew poorer, under an industrial system, he will also find a place where the wind blows north and south at once, and where the sun shines by night and the moon by day. Senator Colquitt's statement that "We have the anomaly of increased wealth and no diminution of poverty" is one of those demagogical misrepresentations that carry with it the evidence that those who utter it either lack the information or the integrity necessary to a responsible public man.

THE DEPARTMENT of Agriculture at Washington has been investigating wages of farm laborers in the different

sections of the country from 1866 to 1892, the results of which are published in a recent report. The facts here presented are a complete demonstration of our position that wages are governed by the standard of living, and are lowest where the social life of the laborers is most simple, and *vice versa*. Consequently wages are always higher in and near manufacturing and commercial centres than in rural districts. The facts presented in the agricultural report make this so clear that the *Springfield Republican* is constrained to say:

"Generally speaking, it would appear from the reports of the Agricultural Department that farm labor is best paid in the manufacturing sections. Thus wages are higher in New England than anywhere else, save on the Pacific coast. They are higher in the parts of agricultural states where are located manufacturing towns than in other parts. They are lowest in the South which is most distinctively of all an agricultural section, but the predominance there of negro labor accounts of course in a great degree for the exceptionally low figures of that section. These high wages in the manufacturing states and localities and the general tendency toward higher since the recovery of 1879 would therefore seem to be due largely to the competition of the factory and the attractions of life in the cities."

We are curious to know how the *Springfield Republican*, and similar advocates of the supply and demand theory of wages, can reconcile their doctrine to these facts. It should be remembered that in cities and manufacturing towns the excess in the supply of labor is constantly greater than in rural districts. Indeed, it is in our cities where the unemployed are found in greatest numbers, and still it is there that wages are highest; and we find them gradually lower as we recede into the rural country where the over-supply is the least, all of which is contrary to the supply and demand doctrine, but is entirely consistent with a view that manufacturing industries and highly diversified social life are the influences which raise wages. All this shows the wisdom of a national policy that promotes the diversification of industries and the development of manufacture.

Yet we suppose the *Springfield Republican* will go right on advocating Free-Trade and opposing the development of new industries, and insisting that nothing but scarcity of labor can raise wages, just as if these facts and millions of others like them had never been heard of.

THERE IS PROBABLY nothing in the whole range of economic discussion that more clearly shows how little influence facts have in determining public policy than the reasoning upon the hours of labor. For more than fifty years there has been an almost continuous series of reductions in the hours of labor in different branches of industry in most civilized countries, and particularly in England and America. When it was first proposed to shorten the working day from fourteen hours, it was prophesied that capital would be rendered unprofitable, and all the evils known to industry would follow. Heedless of these prophesies, however, the demands of the masses for a shorter working day were conceded in varying degrees, until the general working day is fully four hours shorter than it was in 1820, and none of these evils have followed, but, on the contrary, the condition of both capitalists and laborers has steadily improved. The fact that these evil predictions have been repeated at every step and never sustained by the results seems to go for naught. The same objections are repeated to-day with as much confidence as if no experiment had ever been made. A few weeks ago Lord Salisbury told a deputation of English laborers that an eight hour day would ruin English capitalists unless it were simultaneously adopted by continental countries, and the proposition to reduce the working hours for women and children from sixty to fifty-eight per week, has called forth a repetition of the same old story. Even *Bradstreet* argues that if Massachusetts reduces her working time two hours per week she will be handicapped in competition with other New England States. If such reasoning were followed there never would be any progress at all. If England had waited for the Continent

she would probably have still been working fourteen hours per day, and if Massachusetts had waited till all New England agreed, her ten-hour law would never have been adopted.

And so such reasoning holds equally good in wages. If Eastern employers waited until their Southern competitors were ready to increase wages, it would never be done. England did not suffer by leading the Continent in this respect, nor did the capitalists of Massachusetts suffer by leading New England, nor does New England suffer by leading the rest of the country in the matter of wages. A shorter working day in fact is a necessity of progress and cannot be stopped, and statesmen and economists who fail to recognize that fact simply put themselves in the way of peaceful advance, and in so doing encourage the inflammatory feeling which gives rise to revolutionary schemes.

THE POSSIBILITY of providing an American navy which shall have the economic advantage of contributing to its own support very materially, is beginning to find place in the American mind. The English, with their ever-ready practical good sense, have already been doing this, and the method is so sound and good that we need not hesitate to follow in their lead. Their method is to subsidize merchant steamers before they are built, on the condition that they shall be constructed so as to be turned into ships of war at the option of the government in case a war arises. The expected transfer of the City of New York and the City of Paris, of the Inman line, to the American flag—ships already built in such a way as to be fit for cruisers, will furnish the first vessels of this sort for war service. But it would be easy, with proper government subsidies like those of the English, to so far encourage the building of other steamers here to sail under our flag, that we should have a navy of vessels ready to become efficient war-ships in case of hostilities. Meanwhile this navy would be self-supporting, because generally engaged in commerce, and the ships,

instead of rusting idly at their anchors in various ports, would be constantly adding to the country's wealth by their services as merchantmen. Of course, it is not needful that our whole navy should be of this character, since some government vessels are necessary, as things are, to support the dignity and represent the power of the United States in all waters, official exhibitions of ourselves, as it were, to foreign powers. But the others would be built in such numbers as to constitute a magnificent enlargement of our resources and our means of defence or attack.

Our history already points us in this direction. We recall that the war of 1812, so brilliant in our navy annals, was largely carried on by privateers which were nothing but merchant vessels turned into weapons of attack upon English commerce. Their operations had much to do with hastening the English to a desire for peace, and when the war was over they quietly returned to their commercial uses.

As industrial methods extend themselves further and further over the domain of human activity, all departments of government will adopt measures based upon profit and loss accounts, so that swords shall be made of a fashion to be used as ploughshares in times of peace, and spears adapted to become pruning hooks, as the scripture prophecies. Already the soldier is developing into a kind of policeman, armies are changing from means of attack to means of defense, their usefulness no longer being estimated so much for plundering forays and expeditions of conquest, as for resisting such forays, or rather in preventing them from being undertaken by rude enemies.

The natural objection to an idle navy would be quite destroyed by such a merchant war fleet as we contemplate. We now behold with a certain degree of impatience the merely show-function of our white fleet and our naval officers, and are constantly impelled to keep both at a minimum. But with a navy of active merchantmen we should easily find that the more we had of them the better. They

would not only be serviceable in time of war but profitable to themselves in time of peace.

And we are to be congratulated on securing for the initiative of this policy two steamers of the very first class, second to none that float upon the sea. A less fortunate moment might easily have given us two indifferent cruisers discouraging to the new policy.

THE PEOPLE, a socialist newspaper, froths a little in replying to our remarks on its account of the opening of the College of Social Economics, and reiterates its vulgar abuse of the speakers and ourselves. We would not for a moment quarrel with *The People's* chosen vocabulary, which it doubtless holds to be choice and forcible at once. We do not think it to be either, and are therefore quite willing to give it a monopoly of coarse words. But we still insist that *The People's* economics are out of joint, and this we will try to make clear.

We agree with it that "poverty is no longer inevitable, on account of the increased productivity of labor" through machinery. But *why* any private person should not use "modern implements for his own profit," *The People* does not state. A fisherman would be a fool to go a fishing without the best modern fish hooks, and a workman would be a fool to work without the best modern tools, axes, saws, trowels, ploughs, etc. Why then should anyone be forbidden to use any machinery because it brings him in a private profit? The masses are not poor because many of them have risen to capitalists and have become rich; they are poor because all of them have not so risen. Some have run ahead of the others. What *The People* would do is to prevent any from running ahead of the others by keeping the best back with the slowest. This means not making all rich, but rather keeping all poor like an Indian tribe. "Collective ownership of land and capital" means the management of land and capital by those slowest and poorest, whose condition shows that they do not know how to

manage a little, and would therefore be doubly incompetent to manage much. Under their guidance the poor would not be made rich, but the rich poor, and there you would have your Indian tribe again. We heartily wish it might be otherwise, so that we might agree with *The People*, but running factories for "public use" instead of private profit, would not make them more productive, and they still do not produce enough for everybody. What *The People* should call for is not different ownership, but greater production.

The People does not yet see that almost all capital goes back into production, whoever owns it, and could produce no more if everybody owned it. Nor would its product, if more widely distributed, make the people richer. On the contrary, they would have a trifle more to-day at the cost of getting much less for years afterwards. We believe in capital because everybody is better off where there is capital and capitalists, than where there is neither. And we think *The People* with its doctrines is helping to keep the masses poor. To our view it is helping to establish poverty, not wealth, and therefore we oppose it.

WHOLESALE GROCERS are agitating the idea of discontinuing the practice of making sugar a leading article by selling it without profit, or, as is commonly the case, at a loss. There is no special reason why the practice of selling sugar at a loss should not be discontinued, but if it is discontinued, the price of sugar will have to be raised; the grocers and commercial papers advocating the change should be frank enough to tell the public that it is they who have raised the price, in order to increase their own profits, and not pretend that it is due to the sugar trust—as was the case when the price of sugar rose a few years ago through the increased price of the raw sugar, when the trust was actually making a smaller margin than it had been before. All we say is that if the grocers raise the

price they should be frank enough to tell the public that they have done so to increase their own profits.

WE PUBLISH in this issue another article from Mr. Joel Benton against Labor Unions in reply to our criticism of his paper in the March number. It will be observed, however, that his present paper is largely a repetition of what he said before and what has been repeated hundreds of times during the last fifty years by the enemies of trade-unions. Nevertheless these organizations continue to grow in numbers and influence with the advance of intelligence and civilization. It is astonishing to see how little influence facts have upon a certain class of minds.

Mr. Benton talks about capitalists' rights to discharge laborers as something very sacred, but takes no account of the fact that this "right" is often systematically used as a means of punishing laborers for their industrial and political activity. We have known many laborers to be black-listed throughout whole communities for exercising their political right in favor of industrial legislation disapproved by their employers. This notion of abstract rights has always been used as a reason for denying laborers the means of their own protection. We remember Edward Atkinson opposed the Ten-Hour law in Massachusetts, on the ground that "it would deprive women of the right of working as many hours as they pleased." Just as if they ever really had any such right. Everybody knows that the hours of labor and other conditions were always fixed by capitalists until laborers used their combined power to fix them for themselves.

His remarks about "scabs" and "rats" being superior to union workmen shows how absurd one may talk who takes abstract ideas instead of experience for his basis. It is notorious that in all industries and countries where trade unions are popular they represent the most intelligent and skillful of their class. And the only reason capitalists object to them is that they are too active in demanding better conditions for themselves and their class because they are the intelligent, agitating, progressive minority.

Mr. Benton's objection to the "organized ten per cent." of laborers forcing up the wages of the unorganized ninety per cent of their class is very good *laissez faire* doctrine. It is the logic of anarchy itself. But it is very bad social science, because it is contrary to all the history of social progress. Every step of industrial, religious and political advance has been accomplished by the struggles of an agitating minority who demanded more rights and better conditions for their class, and the reason of this is that it is a part of the law of social movement, and progress is impossible without it. Mr. Benton's solicitude about the "unorganized ninety per cent. having their wages involuntarily raised by the "organized ten per cent." is entirely wasted. The unorganized never object to this. Like the laggards in every other line, they are always willing to receive the benefits of higher wages and shorter hours, though they do nothing towards obtaining these benefits.

Mr. Benton's statement that "It is a well-known fact that organized labor prevents its adherents from asking *above* a certain price," is one of those hackneyed assertions that were never true. Trade Unions were never foolish enough to prevent their members from asking for higher wages. There never was a strike for any such reason.

The stone-cutters' strike is a good illustration of the struggle between the two forces. There is really no dispute over wages or hours. It is all because the employers want to change the date of fixing the year's scale of wages from May to January.

This doubtless seems a very simple matter to Mr. Benton but it is really a very serious one to the stone-cutters. The only reason the employers want to change the date is that they think stone-cutters could be crowded lower in January when snow is on the ground than in May when the buds are opening and the building trades are brisk.

In this the laborers agree with them, and for that reason oppose the change as they should. The true interest

of the community is with the stone-cutters because the advance of society is identical with raising wages and improving the laborer's condition.

New Books Received.

“PAUPERISM AND THE ENDOWMENT OF OLD AGE.”
By Charles Booth. Macmillan & Co., New York. 1892.
351 pp.

“ECONOMICS OF INDUSTRY.” By Alfred Marshall.
Macmillan & Co.; New York. 1892. 411 pp.

“DISTRIBUTION OF PRODUCE.” By James C. Smith.
French, Trübner, & Co., Kegan Paul, London. 1892.
77 pp.

“FARMING CORPORATIONS.” By Wilbur Aldrich.
W. Aldrich & Co., 120 Broadway, New York. 1892. 255 pp.

“WHO PAYS YOUR TAXES?” A collection of papers
by David A. Wells, George H. Andrews, Thomas G.
Shearman, Julius T. Davies, Joseph Dana Miller, Bolton
Hall. Edited by Bolton Hall. Putnam’s Sons, New York.
1892. 218 pp.

“METHODS OF INDUSTRIAL REMUNERATION.” By
David F. Schloss. Putnam’s Sons. New York. 1892.
279 pp.

SOCIAL ECONOMIST.

AUGUST, 1892.

The Two Party Platforms.

Political parties are a necessary part of the machinery of representative government. They are the means by which public opinion is formulated and the national policy determined, and party platforms are formal declarations of the principle upon which each party is pledged to administer the government, if elected. In this respect, American party machinery differs from European; it is more democratic. In England, for instance, they have no national conventions where party representatives can meet and formulate their policy and select their standard bearers. Party leadership is practically a life position. When a man is once Prime Minister he becomes, by force of custom, the permanent leader of his party for the remainder of his life, unless he voluntarily retires; and, by virtue of that fact, he is selected by the Crown as Prime Minister every time his party goes into power. It is also within the power of this leader largely to determine the policy of his party, if he be a man of positive character. It was for years generally admitted that several important reforms were compelled to wait for the death of Lord Palmerston, although they were strongly desired by his party.

So, to-day, the opinion of Mr. Gladstone or Lord Salisbury is regarded as a more responsible expression of party policy than would be a resolution passed by a representative Liberal or Tory gathering. The reason for this is that in England important legislation is formulated and introduced into Parliament by Cabinet Ministers, and the

tenure of office of their whole party is made to depend upon the success or failure of these measures, thus giving the Prime Minister and his Cabinet entire control of legislation, which is truly aristocratic in spirit.

In this country, however, the methods of party organization and responsibility are more democratic. The President and his Cabinet are simply executive officers of the Government, and have no power either to initiate legislation or to control the policy of their party, except through the influence of their superior judgment. All legislation emanates directly from Congress, and the policy of each party is determined by its own voters in popular representative convention. This convention has absolute control over the destinies of the party. It both formulates its policy and selects the candidates to represent it. Moreover, the candidates are selected as representatives of the policy laid down in the platform, and their acceptance of the nomination is their public endorsement of the doctrines it sets forth. Therefore, in considering the claims of the two political parties to popular support, we are concerned only with the views of public policy set forth in their respective platforms, judged in the light of their history; because these are the only authoritative expressions of party doctrine. Any attempt of party exponents to evade the policy expressed in their platform, by referring to the views of the candidates, should be ignored as mere campaign subterfuge.

In reading the two platforms, one is struck with their similarity in at least one respect: They both contain the same number of clauses, and, with one exception, discuss the same subjects. Indeed, it would almost seem as if the Minneapolis platform had been used as a text by the authors of the Chicago platform. There is this difference between them, however. The Minneapolis platform is manifestly a re-affirmation of the policy of the Republican party as pursued while in office, and is, therefore, a definite appeal to the people upon the record of its conduct of

public affairs. The Chicago platform, on the contrary, is largely made up of denunciations of the Republicans. In a very large number of instances it affects to favor substantially the same policy as is announced in the Republican platform, but invariably couples with it a denunciation of the party which has put that idea into practice, and for the most part with Democratic opposition. Thus, for instance, Section Four of the Chicago platform endorses reciprocity as "a time-honored doctrine of Democratic faith," and in the next sentence denounces the Republican party for having adopted it. On the subject of the World's Fair, the Chicago platform repeats substantially what is in the Republican platform, although in Congress it has shown opposition to it. So on the question of Free Silver, both platforms practically declare against Free Silver or any other change of our monetary system which shall impair the currency value of either metal, with the difference again that in Congress the Democrats have supported Free Silver, and the Republicans as a party have persistently opposed it. On the subject of Civil Service, appointment of bona fide residents to office in territories, construction of the Nicaragua Canal, sympathy with Russian Jews and Irish Home Rulers, the two platforms are substantially alike. They both also endorse popular education as a basis of popular suffrage, with the difference that so far as educational legislation is concerned, it has usually been urged by the Republicans and opposed by the Democrats, especially in the South, where it is most needed, and Democrats are most numerous. On the question of Trusts they display in about an equal degree bad economics, and evince a disposition to cater to superficial, sentimental demands for uneconomic, restrictive legislation against the natural development and effective use of capital, of which the Sherman anti-Trust law is an example.

One naturally expected to find a clause in the Minneapolis platform favoring liberal pensions to veteran soldiers, and in view of the howling opposition to pensions among

Democrats, in Congress and out, and the long list of pension vetoes by Cleveland while President, the Thirteenth Section of the Chicago platform must have been a surprise even to Democrats. For the party of Cleveland, Holman, Hendricks and the *Evening Post* to say: "This convention hereby renews the expression of appreciation of the patriotism of the soldiers and sailors of the Union in the war for its preservation, and we favor just and liberal pensions for all disabled Union soldiers, their widows and dependents," etc., sounds very much like sheer demagogery. The power of imitation is again shown in Section Ten of the Chicago platform, which says: "The Democratic party is the only party that has ever given the country a foreign policy consistent and vigorous, compelling respect abroad and inspiring confidence at home." In view of the admittedly effeminate bungling of Bayard's administration of the State Department under Cleveland, and the acknowledged masterly success of Blaine's administration of that office under Harrison, this statement is simply brazen.

Despite the fact, however, that the builders of the Chicago platform found it necessary to substantially copy more than two-thirds of the Minneapolis declaration of principles, there is one point upon which the platforms are distinctly opposed to each other, namely, the question of protection. Upon this subject there is no mistaking the tone and position of both parties. The Republican platform declares definitely and unequivocally for protection. The Democratic platform is just as definitely and unequivocally opposed to protection. Referring to this subject in Section Three, it says: "We denounce Republican protection as a fraud, a robbery of the great majority of American people for the benefit of the few. We declare it to be a fundamental principle of the Democratic party that the Federal Government has no constitutional power to enforce and collect tariff duties, except for the purpose of revenue only." This is followed by a volley of abuse of the whole idea of protection.

We are aware that there are those who will endeavor to deny that this means free trade. Such, for example, is the *Boston Herald*, which in a recent editorial declares: "There is nothing in the Chicago platform which implies that the Democratic party favors free trade." The most charitable interpretation of such reasoning is that the writer does not know what a tariff for revenue only means. Yet it is a very simple, direct expression. It means that the tariff should be so levied as to be entirely devoid of any protective features; that its only effect shall be to raise the revenue. Now, this is absolute free trade or it is nothing. It does not admit of the idea of tariff for revenue with incidental protection, because it emphatically declares that the tariff shall be *for revenue only*. Not revenue with some protection, but revenue absolutely without protection. The only way to have such a non-protective system of revenue is either not to levy any tax upon foreign articles which compete with similar products at home, or to levy the same tax on the home product as is imposed upon the competing article from abroad. By this means the entire protective quality would be eliminated from the tax. No matter how high the tariff was upon the foreigner, it would be just as high upon the home producer, as home and foreign producer would pay the same amount of tax, and neither would receive any protection, because their competitive relation would remain the same. In no other way can a tax for revenue *only* be levied upon foreign competing products. That is the English method, and is free trade pure and simple.

Now, if American mechanics and business men are desirous of taxing our home-made products in order to prevent themselves from having any protection against foreign producers in American markets, then the proper thing for them to do is to support candidates pledged to inaugurate a policy of tariff for revenue only. But there should be no mistaking the fact that such a policy, all equivocations and explanations to the contrary notwithstanding,

standing, is not merely a modification of protection, or a tendency towards free trade, but it is *absolute free trade itself*, the only free trade that does or can exist between commercial countries.

Is there any economic or social reason for making the radical change in our revenue system here demanded by the Democratic party? There is surely none on the basis of revenue, because there is no surplus income. The talk about the robbery of the American people by oppressive taxes is the acme of absurdity, since the present revenue is barely adequate to meet the expenses of the government, which even the Democratic platform regards as necessary. There could, therefore, be no reduction of the "burdens" of taxation without a corresponding reduction in public expenditure, which would of course mean a curtailment of public improvements—a policy which may be good Democracy, but is the very essence of bad statesmanship. What we need everywhere is larger expenditures for public improvements, because these are the expenditures which benefit the whole community. Every dollar expended in schools, parks, museums, libraries, better streets, drainage, water supplies and other public improvements is so much real addition to the welfare of the masses, and the influence of such expenditures is to improve the standard of social life in the community, and thus permanently advance the scale of civilization.

The only result of the change the Democrats propose would be to so levy taxes as to make sure that the entire burden should fall upon American consumers, instead of a considerable part of it being paid, as now, by foreign producers for the privilege of entering American markets. Thus, instead of lightening the burden of the American people, it would increase it without increasing the revenue by making Americans pay what foreigners now willingly contribute. All the advantages of such a change would manifestly go to foreign producers at the expense of American consumers.

The statement in the Third Section of the Chicago platform, denying that there has been any increase of prosperity under the McKinley tariff, and claiming that under thirty years of protection American farmers have grown poorer, shows either a remarkable unacquaintance with the facts or a striking disregard of accurate statement. In reference to the denial of prosperity under the McKinley tariff, we quote against them an editorial in the New York *Commercial Bulletin* of June 22, an out-and-out free trade journal, which shows that our commercial prosperity during the eleven months preceding June 1 was greater than in any previous eleven months in our history. It says:

"Eleven Months Without Precedent.—The excess of exports over imports for eleven months ending with May proves to have been \$210,061,161, which has been surpassed in only three full years in the history of the country. The exports in May were in value \$69,681,462, against imports amounting to \$68,617,381, so that the excess of exports was \$1,064,081. In the same month last year the excess of imports was \$13,931,516, the increase in exports this year being about \$11,600,000, and the decrease in imports about \$3,400,000. Thus in eleven months of the fiscal year the value of merchandise exports was \$965,366,794, against \$755,305,633 imports, and for the twelve months ending with May the value of exports has been \$1,022,961,528."

Their statement regarding farmers is equally fallacious. They assume that farmers are poor in proportion to the extent of their mortgages, which is about the opposite of true. As a rule only the prosperous can borrow. Nobody will lend to the very poor people. In truth, mortgages among farmers, like strikes among laborers, generally indicate a state of activity and advance. The great bulk of mortgages are not raised to keep farmers out of the poorhouse, but are mostly used in buying more land, procuring better implements, or otherwise increasing the productive capacity of their farms. It is well known that there are fewer bankruptcies among farmers than in

mercantile and manufacturing industries. There is no class, except perhaps the domestic mechanics, who have been benefited so much by protection as our farmers. They have received the full benefit of all the improved machinery which the manufacturing centers have created, in the lower prices of all their manufactured products, their transportation, and everything they purchase in the line of clothes, furniture, utensils, books and musical instruments has been cheapened; in fact, the cost of everything which enters into their social life has been reduced. They have also had the benefit of improved farm implements, which have greatly reduced the cost of farming. And yet the prices of their products have remained almost unchanged. In short, they get nearly the same price for what they sell, while the price of almost everything they buy has been reduced from 20 to 70 per cent. through the development of trade and manufacture under protection. We repeat, if there is any class who have reaped an exceptional share of the benefits of protection, it is our farmers.

But the worst phase of a purely revenue tariff would be its effect upon our industrial and social life—our civilization. There are only two things that permanently affect the competitive power of nations. These are the quality of their tools and the price of their labor. If they all use the same kind of machinery and pay the same rate of wages, they are on an equal basis as economic competitors, and the superior will succeed, as they should. But if they all pay the same rate of wages, and do not use the same quality of machinery, those using the poorer machinery will be defeated in the competition because of their greater cost of production. Their only means of self-preservation will be to obtain the better machinery used by their competitors. If they fail to do this, they have no economic right to survive. They are entitled to no legal protection, because they have not utilized the economic means provided by civilization for their own

preservation. To give protection to them would be to check civilization by putting a premium upon economic incompetency.

Should the difference in competitive power of nations arise from the difference in their rate of wages, however, the social result would be entirely reversed. If they all used the same machinery and paid different rates of wages, those paying the higher rate of wages would be defeated, because of their greater cost of production. Their only means of self-preservation would be to adopt the rate of wages paid by their competitors, which of course would be to adopt the means of a lower civilization or abandon the business. Now, for the same reason that protection in the former case would be perpetuation of inferior economic methods, protection in this case would be perpetuation of a higher civilization. This is exactly the case between America and Europe. The difference in the cost of production here and in other countries is not through the inferiority of American machinery, but through the superiority of American civilization, represented in the higher wages and social life of our laborers. Under those conditions, American producers are handicapped by the very superiority of our civilization. When it is a difference in machinery, the cheaper machines can be procured not only without injury, but with a positive advantage to the community; but when it is a difference in wages, the cheaper men cannot be employed without lowering the standard of social life and impairing our civilization.

If there is one function of government that is more important than another it is the protection of its civilization. Indeed, protection is a fundamental principle in the law of evolution, and obtains alike in nature and society. There is really no progress anywhere without it. It is indispensable to the survival of the fittest. Progress is simply the development of higher or superior types. Self-preservation is a necessity to the permanence of every new formation, and that involves the means of protection against

inferior types. When in any stages of progress the higher types lose their power of defense on the lower plane, their survival depends upon their power to invent new methods of protection. Thus primitive man in his struggle with lower animals could only maintain his existence by inventing weapons. In the development of society the same thing has occurred at every stage. When the methods of barbarism were outgrown, a means of protection against barbarism had to be devised, of which armies, navies, policemen, etc., are examples. Indeed, the very test of fitness of a higher form of civilization to survive is its capacity to devise efficient means for its own protection against lower civilizations without descending to their level.

The true thermometer of a nation's civilization is the wages and social life of its masses. Nothing can securely protect its civilization which does not preserve its standard of social life, and hence its rate of wages. No commerce, no foreign trade, no social intercourse, no international relation of any kind is desirable which cannot be had without lowering the wages and consequently the civilization of one's own country, since the prime object of national existence is the preservation and promotion of its own civilization. It is only by so doing that any nation can really contribute to the world's advance.

Protection of our wage level against invasion from lower wage countries is therefore the first duty of our Government. Not to do that is to desert the Republic and betray its best possibilities. We want the freest possible competition in our market between capitalists of all nations, but we should insist that such competition shall be between *capitalists only*. Their success must be made to depend upon their ability as *capitalists*, and not upon their capacity to obtain cheap labor. To accomplish this it is necessary that American wages be made the basis of competition in American markets. No capitalist shall have the benefit of our consumption and civilization without paying the equivalent of our wages. This in no wise curtails capitalistic

competition. It simply puts them all on the same economic plane, and lets the best succeed. That is to say, capitalists who have the most skill, the largest capital, or employ the best methods are able to get the business, and it permanently prevents American producers from being handicapped by paying American wages.

It will be seen that a tariff on this basis gives no protection to capital. It simply gives protection to the extent that the higher wages of America increases the cost of production. Beyond that point competition is absolutely free. In fact, it is free trade to all who pay the equivalent of American wages. Any party that would oppose protection to this extent is definitely an enemy to American laborers. No amount of talk about American millionaires and manufacturing monopolists is of any account in considering this point. Capitalists will pay as little as they can whether we have protection or free trade. Wages never depended upon the generosity of employers, but always upon the demand made necessary by the social life and standard of living of the laborers themselves. When the wages thus established cannot be paid, the business ceases, and the question of having a tariff equivalent to the difference in wages is not a question as to whether manufacturers shall have profits, but whether the industries shall be developed here or the business shall go to lower wage countries.

To abolish the protective feature from our public policy would be to strike a vital blow at the labor movement in this country. It would make every rise of wages or reduction of hours more difficult than ever, because every improvement in the laborer's condition would tend to handicap American employers in their competition with foreign producers using the same machinery. As the machinery in England, and to a considerable extent in other European countries, is substantially the same as our own, a rise of wages would necessarily be checked

until those of Europe reached the same level, which simply means the arrest of our civilization.

Whether the principle of our present policy shall be maintained is the prime question to be decided in the coming election. Never before was the issue so definitely and squarely drawn between the two parties. There is no longer any question as to whether particular industries have or have not too much protection, but it is absolutely a question between a policy of tariff for revenue only (actual free trade) and a tariff protecting American wage level. The Democratic party is unequivocal in its declaration for a free trade revenue policy. As if to make assurance doubly sure that this was not an accident, but the premeditated intention of the party, the Chicago convention struck from its platform a clause favoring protection to the extent of the difference in wages and inserted in its place a clause denouncing protection as "*a fraud, a robbery of the great majority of the American people for the benefit of the few,*" and declaring it to be "*a fundamental principle of the Democratic party that the Federal Government has no constitutional power to enforce and collect tariff duties except for the purpose of revenue only.*" The Republican party is equally definite in its declaration for a tariff adequate to the protection of our wage level. It says: "*We believe that all articles which cannot be produced in the United States, except luxuries, should be admitted free of duty, and that on all imports coming into competition with the products of American labor there should be levied duties equal to the difference between wages abroad and at home.*"

The issue of the campaign as set forth in the two party platforms is thus clearly an Economic one that strikes at the very root of our industrial and social life. The manifest duty of all who believe American competition should rest upon the wages established by American civilization, is to disregard all mere party considerations and unite in defeating the Free Trade ticket.

The Labor Movement In England.

The "Labor Question" is well to the front in England now, and is likely to remain so until substantial changes for the better have been brought about. The Trade Unions of the United Kingdom have worked more effectively during the past few years, than any previous period. In many trades, a reduction of working hours has taken place; in still more, advances of wages have been obtained, systematic overtime considerably checked, and the conditions of labor generally improved. But what has principally characterized the action of the Trade and Labor Organizations of late has been the amount of educational work done, by acquiring and imparting much more extensive and more correct knowledge of industrial economics than was previously taught, enabling members to realize how many-sided the industrial problem is, and developing in them an intellectual capacity fit to cope with the intricacies of this stupendous problem.

Not that the workers of this country already possess the knowledge requisite to bring about a solution of the great problem—we are very far from that—but the signs are hopeful. The necessity for organization on Trade Union lines is more keenly recognized than formerly, whilst the policy endorsed by the Unions is also of a more comprehensive character than hitherto. And what is equally satisfactory is, that the relationship of one institution to another, voluntary and legislative, is more clearly seen than formerly; and, consequently, there is less clashing of progressing forces, and, therefore, less waste of valuable energy than in earlier days. That all our energy is wanted in a useful direction, will be seen when it is realized that in this old England, which has developed so enormously, we have yet many sections of the community at work under such burdensome and unhealthy conditions,

that merely to recite them would shock the sensibilities of most people, either in Britain or America. It is still true that most intolerable conditions may prevail in one trade in a given country, and the mass of the people in the same country be strangely ignorant of it.

To specify a few cases, as showing the need for remedial action, I will cite what I know beyond question to exist. In the chemical trade as carried on in England, Scotland and Wales, working hours are such as to stagger those who think the nine-hour work day is nearly universal in Britain.

To prevent misunderstanding, it should be made clear that various sections of laborers in connection with chemical works—a very considerable industry in England—have different hours. Thus, in connection with the works, there is necessarily a number of mechanics, such as engineers or machinists, as they would be termed in America, carpenters, joiners, moulders, etc., and with these are many laborers, and the Unions to which the mechanics belong have long ago fixed the weekly limit of working hours at fifty-four—in a number of cases at fifty-three—and laborers are regulated in a similar way. But it is the rule for the mill machinery actually engaged in the production of the chemical materials to run continually, day and night, the whole year round; and, except in a very few instances, this is done with two shifts of men, who must necessarily average 84 hours a week. The men take alternate weeks of night and day, changing at the end of the week. Slightly varying methods prevail in different works, but a common method is the following: A man who has been working daytime for a week, is relieved by his mate at 2 o'clock on Saturday afternoon, which man, beginning at 2 P. M. Saturday, will work till Sunday morning at 7; that is, will work for seventeen hours without any regulation stoppage for meals, he being responsible for the whole of that time, of course, getting a smack of food between whiles. At 7 A. M. Sunday he is relieved by his mate, who, commenc-

ing at 7 A. M. on Sunday, continues on with full responsibility every minute till 6 o'clock on Monday morning; that is, for twenty-three hours at a stretch, when he is relieved by his mate, who works till five in the evening, eleven hours. The man that leaves work on Monday at 6 A. M., after twenty-three hours continuous employment, returns again at 5 on Monday evening, and commences a thirteen hour shift till 6 o'clock on Tuesday morning. He continues on night work all through the week, leaving work on Saturday morning at 6 A. M., but he must return to work again after an eight hour's spell and begin work at 2 o'clock Saturday afternoon, and work on for seventeen hours till 7 o'clock on Sunday morning; of course, without any recognized stoppage for meals. This man thus works from 7 o'clock on the one Sunday till the same hour on the Sunday following, no less than 105 hours; on the alternate week he works sixty-three hours, making 168 hours for the fortnight; and this is a very common practice in the chemical factories of the United Kingdom. The rate of pay equals about thirty-six shillings, or \$9 a week.

The conditions under which many of these men work are positively appalling. In some departments it is necessary to wear a flannel muzzle over the mouth, of sufficient thickness to completely cover the nostrils and prevent inhalation through the nostrils. The muzzle generally consists of some twenty folds of flannel, and stands out on the face in a very ugly looking fashion, it being tied on the man by means of a rope passing under the chin and over the head. Then large goggles are strapped over the eyes, and a paper hat on the head, and what skin is still left exposed, such as the cheek-bones and a portion of the forehead, is greased to check the biting effect of the chemic powder. To wear this muzzle and other accoutrements is exceedingly tiring, as all inhalation must be drawn through this tightly fitting flannel muzzle, and exhalation takes place only through the nostrils; and to work with this muzzle on, and in the chamber with the poisonous

powder and gas, is to work under conditions that rapidly kill; indeed, the average man cannot last more than fifteen years as a workman. He will either die or be living at the expense of friends, or the community, at the end of that time. Limit of space forbids further recital of the horrors of the chemic slaves of England, but what I have said will bear repetition. It is within the mark.

Tram-car drivers and conductors commonly work thirteen hours a day, with not more than one day off in a month, and because the Tram-Men's Union have requested the company to grant them one day's leave from work in fourteen, the company have refused, and a strike is now pending to obtain this revolutionary demand in the town of Bolton, Lancashire.

Laundry work in England is done by women, who work from fifty-six to eighty hours a week in steam laundries; and in smaller places it is a very common thing for the women to commence at 8 A. M. and not finish till 11 or 12 P. M., these hours applying especially to the three last days of the week. The prevalence of such conditions will serve to show that while England justly has a reputation for working relatively few hours, this does not by any means apply to the whole of the people. The Trade Unions have made great alterations of late in many trades, and the nucleus of an organization exists not only among the chemical workers, but also with the laundresses, who are gradually but slowly being brought into line with organized labor.

I need not here recount the successes and failures of the Trade Unionists. Let it suffice to say that not more than one-third of our adult males are organized in Unions, although they exercise a considerable influence over those not enrolled; but in the case of females, organizations proceed slowly.

It has always been the case that a few among the Trade Unionists look forward to a time when industry should be under democratic control, and they have tried to propagate this view through the Unions, but with small success

until recently. It may now be said that a considerable proportion of Trade Unionists are not forming organizations for the mere purpose of fighting employers and getting the largest possible amount of wages, but whilst gradually improving the condition of the workers under existing industrial arrangements, very many are really working for the democratisation of industry. To define what is meant by this phrase may be rather difficult, but the conviction is gathering force that trade and industry should be controlled in the common interest; that sectional, selfish, private enterprise must be subjected to a popular control in the interest of the whole people; and that to an increasing extent reliance upon capitalistic organization of industry must be superceded by democracy taking responsibility and advantages or losses. This means the recognition of the co-operative principle as against the competitive, and so, in England, the trade societies are gradually coming to endorse co-operation, manufacturing and distributive.

A few weeks ago, the Annual Co-operative Congress took place, and the reports showed not only a remarkable improvement upon previous years, but a coming nearer to the Trade Unionists in sympathy and aim, which, should it continue, will ere long result in an alliance between the two rapidly growing movements. Of course, in many cases, the members of the Trade Unions are also members of the co-operative societies, and to count the two movements separately, would be in many cases to count the same people twice over. But, the dual movement represents some three millions of families, or twelve millions of people, out of a population of forty millions, and, therefore, their power for good or ill is very considerable.

And what is important to note, both movements are more really alive to-day, than at any previous period. Not that everything is harmonious—that were too much to expect—but the differences are those of method only, and not of principle; and I believe I am justified in saying that no one section is checkmating another, but they are really

stimulating each other to further activity. Thus, in the co-operative movement there are two important methods being propagated (some insist upon speaking of it as a difference of principle); the one contends that production should be controlled by the consumers, the other, that the producer or worker should take the risk, and share the advantages by taking profits. To illustrate how this works out, I may state that the members of the various co-operative stores throughout the country formerly obtained their boots and shoes from ordinary manufacturers, which manufacturers commonly sub-let the work to numerous small sub-contractors, which resulted in very many of the boots being made under the "sweating" system. The co-operators, through their Board of Management, termed the "wholesale," undertook to build a first-class boot and shoe factory, replete in every way with modern improvements, to find the capital, take the risk, comply with Trade Union requirements as regards wages, and take all profits to their constituents—the consumers who compose the distributive societies represented by the "wholesale." At this factory some 1,400 persons are now employed, Trade Union requirements being complied with. From a sanitary point of view it is a model to the district, and the whole thing is prospering. But the workers do not share in the profits made, nor would they as workers lose anything other than their employment, if failure overtook the concern. The consumers find the capital, and the consumers get the advantage when they purchase the commodities, and as investors of the capital, they rightly claim that they are lessening the evils of the sweating system, by having organized a thoroughly well-equipped factory in place of the sweaters' den. If more capital is required for extension, they have much more than they can possibly require as an organized body of consumers.

But the other school of co-operators contend that true co-operation necessitates a personal interest in the concern by every employé, and therefore they insist upon the

profit-sharing plan being recognized; refusing to admit that the consumer as such should be allowed to control production, and so the believers in profit-sharing have also established boot and shoe factories at Leicester, Kettering, and other places, and the management is entrusted to a committee of the men employed, who employ a manager to act for the members. This section has no large amount of capital at their back, and cannot therefore extend their premises to keep pace with their growing trade. At present some 300 are employed at the "Eagle Brand" works in Leicester, where the profit-sharing principle is recognized, and as they accumulate capital, so they extend; and they contend that the workers themselves being responsible, taking risk and facing difficulties, develop the requisite for successfully grappling with the industrial problem to a much greater extent than is the case in the factories where this responsibility does not exist. To those who wish well to all honestly directed democratic effort, the qualifying feature is that both systems are successful, both have had failures, but out of the failures have grown successes. It now remains for Co-operators and Trade Unionists alike to judiciously interpret their respective principles, merge with each other as far as may be, and then decide when, where and how their voluntary associative effort may be supplemented by municipal or state action.

The Trade Unionist who insists upon a fixed standard of wages for a fixed number of working hours, recognizes the necessity of complying with the same principle when, in his capacity of citizenship, he becomes an employer; and therefore the Trade Unions are insisting upon Trade Union rates of wages and general conditions of labor being recognized by municipal authorities, and this with considerable success, the London County Council having set the pace in this direction.

The Co-operators, looking forward to the time when British industry shall be conducted on a co-operative basis,

and knowing that many departments must necessarily remain unaffected by voluntary, associated effort, as distinct from legislative effort, are therefore taking a keener interest than formerly in enforcing attention upon the political phases of the labor problem, and are joining hands with Trade Unionists generally in demanding reduced working hours for railway men, miners, chemical workers, and others; and also are gradually pressing forward a policy in favor of the collective control of the railway system, which is, in their opinion, but the application of the co-operative principle through the agency of legislative restitution.

That which is demanded now, by the thoughtful section of Trade-Unionists and Co-Operators, is, that Parliament shall again amend the Factory Acts in such a way as to practically abolish the "sweating" system, and shall secure the application of the most complete mechanical appliances for reducing the evils of such unhealthy employment as that of chemical workers, etc.

In order to relieve the unemployed by absorbing some of them, at least, into the ranks of workers, to enable the workers to partake of the ever increasing advantages of industrial development, and to afford time and opportunity for mental and physical development, legislative action is called for to reduce working hours. Indeed, nothing has been more discussed than this matter of reducing hours, during the past few years; and now, on the eve of a general Parliamentary election, tens of thousands of voters are tackling the respective candidates upon this subject, as an adjunct to their voluntary effort, through the Trade Unions.

Improved Local Government is demanded for cities, towns, and country alike. This is clearly defined, and is being vigorously pressed. We in London demand District Councils under the London County Council. We have an area of 400 square miles, upon which stands London, with 5,000,000 inhabitants, and one person in five dies

either in the poor house, asylum or infirmary. Until recently, the people in London allowed a dominant section to boss; now, it is demanded that an extension of the Local Government Act shall take place upon lines enabling the average worker to take an active part in the democratic management of this monster city. But it happens also that the chief demand of laborers in the rural districts is also this one of an effective scheme of local self-government, it being held that, immediately this is obtained, requisite steps will then certainly be taken to bring about a solution of our land question.

In the way of Electoral Reform, the second ballot is demanded, but this we are not likely to see yet, neither of the political parties being favorable to it, and those running on independent labor lines are yet insignificant in numbers. Payment of Members of Parliament is also demanded, but neither is this cared for by either party.

Home Rule for Ireland is endorsed by the majority of workmen, and, therefore, Gladstone is likely to be returned by a majority, but it will not be large, about forty is my estimate, although Gladstonians are counting sixty at least. The workmen care much less for political parties than was formerly the case; it is the *Social* question they insist upon, and neither of our two main parties care for this. But although as workers we have long known this, we have not yet exhibited much capacity in organizing ourselves politically to give voice to the demands of labor on independent lines. At the forthcoming election, about ten men only will be standing as labor candidates, in addition to those already members; but of these ten, not more than five will get into Parliament. The Liberals are just now (June, 1892) making strenuous efforts to come to terms with those who have been endorsing an Independent Labor policy, outside of either Tory or Liberal party, and while a majority of workmen will vote Liberal, it will not mean that they are content to work with and through the Liberal party, except temporarily. Industrial independ-

ence is aimed at by the workmen, and this is certainly not an object of either Liberal or Tory parties. The abolition of poverty is the actuating motive with the most intelligent workmen; to obtain and maintain positions of power in the State is, or appears to be, the main desire of the parties; they give attention to industrial questions exactly in proportion as organized workmen force them so to do. The electioneering speeches now being made by many candidates indicate a sycophancy that is despicable, when we remember the tone and manner of these same persons, even five years ago, when they had less cause to fear the independent action of workmen. One thing stands out clear in all this political and social turmoil, and that is, that the workmen in Great Britain are engaged in fighting their way out from poverty and industrial enslavement; that they intend to do much of it through the agency of voluntary institutions like the Trade Unions and Co-operative Societies, and that they also intend to utilize the machinery of the State for the same purpose whenever that machinery may, with advantage, be so used.

Whilst doing this here, we keep a keen eye upon the United States, but not necessarily a jealous one. We rejoice exceedingly to know that in many instances American workers enjoy a considerably higher standard than we do, because we are convinced that it makes it the more possible for us to raise our standard. In the most complete and genuine sense, those workmen for whom I can speak, wish hearty good will and continued prosperity to America. We shall vie with you; if possible, we shall beat you in raising the common standard of life; but, in saying and meaning this, we know it to be compatible with the best moral and material interests of both.

TOM MANN.

The Abolition of Poverty.

"The destruction of the poor is their poverty," is a Scriptural motto whose truth has been recognized indeed, but its full import was never appreciated until in our own times. Now, it clearly begins to appear that the root evil of all evils is poverty, and that to secure the abolition of the others, one must begin by abolishing that. And, therefore, it is that in the place of voluntary brotherhoods sworn to poverty and celibacy, as in the monasteries of the Roman Church, we now have Anti-Poverty Societies and numberless associations for relieving and destroying this great misery of the human race.

There are no records of humanity which reach so far back as to antedate the time when classes of rich and poor already existed. In fact, no human society do we anywhere find so primitive as not to have already differentiated itself into these two branches by which the natural inequality of men, which even the American Declaration of Independence has utterly failed to abolish, has already expressed itself. And not only has inequality existed from the earliest recorded times, but also, contemporaneously with it, in all human record has appeared a kind of moral protest against its existence, as if it were something which ought not to be, and which it was the duty of the rich to reduce to its lowest terms as rapidly as possible. In all ages, they have been under a continual battery of exhortation to equalize matters by giving their excess of substance to those who had least, and to be willing to take the promise of a post-mundane reward in exchange for a fair divide of their greater possessions here. The whole trend of human thought has been to establish the view that the rich were somehow to blame for having become rich; and, usually, the implication has been that they had made themselves wealthy by oppressing and rob-

bing the poor, rather than by the superior efficiency of their wits and works. And yet, it must have been plain when the first men were still catching fish, or hunting game for a living, that one man would come home with a dozen fish on his string, where another fisherman would habitually get but six; and, in like manner, one hunter would be sure to be more skillful, or stronger, or swifter, or have a better weapon of his own make than another, and inequality would set in. When "Nimrod was a mighty hunter before the Lord," he had evidently excelled his comrades in that business; and "Bairam, that great hunter, over whose head the wild ass now stamps," evidently had a name for superiority in his craft. And, certainly, if a man had a right to the fish he caught, or the deer he shot, the most skillful and fortunate of fishermen and hunters would be better off than those inferior in such crafts, and, as time went on, would begin to be rich, not by oppressing the poor but by beating them on the same ground. And there would be no help for this, any more than there is for the fact that one man is larger, or stronger, or has better eyes, or ears, or brains than another. The ability to do things and therefore to accumulate property in different persons is so diverse, that out of the same circumstances and opportunities, and with the same tools, one would inevitably become richer than another without in the least trenching upon that other's rights or chances. He would in no way have borrowed, begged or stolen from the poorer man, but he would merely have coaxed or extorted more from nature by his methods.

And this is the most general type of the increase of wealth in an industrial society. It is the superior efficiency of one individual over another, of one tribe or family over another, by which it is enabled to accumulate more wealth than the rest.

It is a curious but almost universal result of this superiority, however, that the rich are spoken of as if they had somehow become an injury to the rest by their superior

success. Their good fortune is resented and rebuked. Those who are left poor are certain to think their poverty is in some way brought about by the greater wealth of the others, instead of being, as it is, a mere survival of the previously uniform poverty of all.

But, so far is the greater prosperity of some in fact from being an injury to the others, that it is positively an advantage to everybody of the tribe or nation. It elevates the general level. It gives the poor man a richer, larger customer for his products; it gives him a neighbor who is able to help him in a pinch; it gives him an employer more sure to pay good wages; it everyway increases the value of the poor man's services. So that, instead of being loud in complaint of the rich man's greater wealth, his interest demands that he should rejoice at it, and consider it as so much gain to himself and the rest of his community, as indeed it is.

One good effect, at any rate, this rich man is sure to have upon many others, and that is, to stimulate their desire to become rich also and to enjoy the rich man's superiorities. This, so to speak, wakes up a community, and begins to transform it from the apathetic indolence of an unambitious tribe to the aspiring activity of a progressive society. Thus the virus, as some would call it, of a desire for wealth, would strike into the dull stoicism of the primitive man and begin to change his rude nature for the better. "The mad race for riches" would begin, even though it were only a foot race at first, to grow, under the range and variety of increasing life, into the numerous and comprehensive industries of a modern civilization.

But meanwhile the feeling of the left-behind poor, who would be of greater number than the more successful rich, would become a reigning sentiment, to the effect, as we said, that the rich had somehow injured the poor and appropriated something that belonged to them, and which therefore the wealthy ought to restore by gifts and charities. This, we say, being the sentiment of the poor

majority, would inevitably get itself expressed at last as a social truth, however ill-grounded and contrary to fact it might be, and men would arise among the poor to urge this opinion as a moral truth, an actual immorality in the working of affairs. From this to calling it an injustice, a crying evil, a national calamity, a sin deserving of heaven's vengeance, would be but a short flight of steps, and we should have arrived at the fervent protest which echoes through all history of the defrauded and oppressed poor against the oppressive rich, made so, as is alleged, not by their superior handling of the materials of life which were open to all, but by fraud, violence and robbery.

Everybody would be aware that in his transactions with his neighbors he generally received a *quid pro quo* reward for his services, or an exchange of goods which he wished; but still, such a nature is human nature, that the more successful would be decried, suspected, complained of and hated. And the long wail of the ages is indeed the voice of the feeling, rising like the smoke of a morning and evening sacrifice towards heaven.

Now, with the complaint would arise, and always in fact has arisen, a call for the readjustment of matters upon a so-called juster basis. The rich would be summoned to give up their surplus and confer it upon those who had none. This is indeed the exhortation of priest and prophet through all history, from ancient Egypt down to the present day. And this indeed may be called the first effort of mankind to abolish poverty, namely, to take away any surplus which anyone could make and give it to him who made less, in order that each might have a sufficiency, whether he could earn it or not. This rough-and-ready way of keeping those who lagged behind as nearly as possible abreast of those who pushed ahead, seemed just the thing to the laggards always and to their spokesmen. It would naturally seem so, and would have given the hindmost, what in modern irreverent parlance is called an exceedingly "soft snap." Nevertheless, it has never been

worked successfully. To be sure the idea was taken up by the priesthood everywhere. The denunciations of heaven were invoked and threatened against the rich who should refuse to give to the poor, rewards most bounteous after death were promised to those who should be liberal, and the special favor of gods or God upon them during life. Nothing of words was spared to conjure their wealth out of the hands of the wealthy into the hands of the unsuccessful. All in vain. As a matter of fact, those who had become rich were too sensible of their advantages to give them up willingly, and too well aware of the hardship of poverty to reduce themselves back to so undesirable a condition. And there was besides the incessant activity of the same superior faculties which had made them rich at first, conspiring to keep them richer all along. To recur to our former illustration, the better man could still catch his dozen fish to the other man's half dozen daily, and was richer in consequence. Nor could he be made to see why he had not as good a right to the whole of his dozen as the poorer fisherman had to his half dozen; and he never could be made to think that rewards after death for good money before were a sufficient recompense for any considerable part of his fortune. He might risk some in that way but not much.

Nevertheless, this method of equalizing seems so simple and desirable to the less successful, that it has never lost its vogue or its advocates. There is not the least likelihood of its adoption, on a general scale, but it is called for just as loudly as ever, and just as widely, and that too in spite of the fact that society persistently goes quite the other way. And it is well that it does, for it is now quite clear that if the wealthy classes had followed the wishes of the poorer, and the advice of the priest and prophet, they would have kept the poor in a state of inefficient pauperism most harmful to themselves and quite destructive to general progress. And not only that, but by scattering their wealth with one hand as fast as they got it with the

other, they would have entirely forestalled and prevented that accumulation of capital in efficient hands which is the greatest tool of energy for increasing the production, and therefore, the aggregate wealth of the community. Relieving poverty in charity, in other words, would end in increasing poverty, since it would diminish the productive capital, which alone could finally relieve poverty effectually by paying it for work. In other words, the only way to relieve poverty permanently was by increasing the means of its production, so that, as each could produce more daily, each would have more daily. The catch of fish of the poorer fisherman must be increased, not by giving some of the better fisherman's catch, but by giving him better tools, so that his day's work might become more remunerative.

And this indeed, is the only possible solution of the relief of poverty question which can be made universal or permanent. All the charity conceivable will never fill the yawning chasm of poverty's extensive and perpetual needs. After the utmost possible expenditure of wealth by the wealthy, those needs would still be unfilled and crying like the open mouths of unfledged birds upturned from their nests, "Give! give!" The reason so large a mass of poverty still persists after such a vast advance in the art of production by modern machinery, is because still there are so many persons whose daily production is insufficient for their comfortable support. They have not yet mastered tools enough or well enough to get much more out of them than their ancestors could get out of the raw materials of nature alone. So they remain where nature left their ancestors—close to the verge of subsistence.

We say they remain there; it is not modern society which has brought them there; it is not the wealth of capitalists that has put them there; it is not the extortion or the absorption of lands by speculators that has taken away their livelihood, or robbed them of a birthright to land enough for support; it is none of these things nor all of them together. It is

simply that they have not improved in power of production over their ancestors, and are therefore still living as their ancestors lived. Nor would any new social arrangement, any sequestration of land or the rents of land, any absorption of private property by the state, or distribution of all existing goods relieve their poverty permanently, or even for any important length of time, for the simple reason that they have only a poor rate of production. The whole of their daily product secured to them daily, would still leave them on the bottom stairs of society and close to the ground. What we, who wish them well and wish to help them up, have to do then, is to find some means of teaching them to increase their rate of production, enable them to catch nine fish per day instead of the poverty-stricken six, which they catch by nature, as it were.

And this, indeed, is just the work to which modern invention and business is setting itself. It is devoting itself to machineries, which have already lifted millions out of the lower levels of poverty, in order to lift those who are left in the mire. Forswearing charity which long ages of church effort and administration have proved to be quite inadequate to the task, and which only left the masses in ignorance and squalor where it found them; forsaking the socialism of earlier times, because it found such socialism to mean not even some rich, and certainly not all rich, but on the contrary, all poor, because production was poor, the modern spirit of business and invention applies itself to the problem of giving the wretched fisherman the means to increase his take. And this method has been so far successful that the whole of society is on a higher level than it ever was before. In spite of much remaining poverty, in spite of low wages and sweating systems, and tenement houses, and miseries of "the other half," and children put to work as soon as they could talk, and much more brutality, on the whole, inventions and business have succeeded in elevating and relieving more than any other agency ever employed. And, therefore, we have

reason to expect that they will do the rest in time. When every man becomes able to produce as much as he needs to be comfortable, then he will get so much. He cannot get it before, unless somebody else is robbed of his own to give it to him, which would be manifestly unjust.

They therefore who wish to hasten the abolition of poverty, will take hold of it at the business end; will help with inventions and enterprises. They will not give money in charity, seeing that charity is utterly inadequate to the task proposed; they will not urge forward the ownership of productive property by the State, seeing that Government property is always less productive than private enterprises; they will not join Dr. McGlynn's anti-poverty class, seeing that the abolition of property in land has no tendency to increase the productiveness of land, and many land owners, farmers and farm laborers, are already among the poorest of the poor in all the comforts and pleasures of life. But what they will do is to join the noble army of producers, helping forward inventions, enterprises, factories, railways, steamships, and the rest of the business affairs which are already at work to abolish poverty by creating wealth, which alone can abolish it. The preachers may preach about "the mad race for riches," but how is poverty to be dispossessed unless riches are raced for with consuming energy? The Socialists may declaim against "the fierce greed of the capitalist," but how are workmen's wages to be paid if there be no vast accumulation of capital to keep going the works where he earns more than nature would give him per day, and gets his pay in cash? Charitable organizations may hold out their hats for contributions on a large or small scale, but if they are to get the money and pay it out where it never gives returns of earnings, where shall enterprises get their backing out of which, because they increase production, so many can be permanently supported and enriched? All other methods proposed by well-meaning people seem to us to propose something which either leaves things much

as they are, or to enrich the poor by impoverishing the already rich, and so adding to the number of the poor. We alone contemplate the abolition of poverty by increasing the number of the rich till there are no more poor. And our method is the very plain one of increasing wealth by increasing the production of wealth. Could anything be simpler or surer to do the work?

Wealth and Morality.

Does the general level of morality depend upon the degree to which wealth is disseminated, and should the production of more wealth and its more equitable distribution be encouraged and stimulated as a means to that end? The study of history and a careful analysis of the laws of human progress seem to compel an affirmative answer to both these propositions.

More and more the world is beginning to see that the salvation of man lies *through* the improvement of his material condition. No religious misconception, no political bias, no social theory should be allowed to dim the clear perception of this truth; but church, state and society should constitute a triple alliance, a sort of industrial triumvirate, harmoniously co-operating for the redemption of man *through* the improvement of his material condition.

The still all too prevalent notion that poverty, ignorance and crime must always exist originated long before the present gigantic productive or factory system had produced a complete metamorphosis in human conditions. But now the multiplication of millionaires and the rapid spread of wealth reveal the potentiality of human industry and the social and moral possibilities of the future. The age of gold lies ahead of us, not behind us. The church can help the productive process by doing all in its power to render the relations between man and man more amicable—by being an institution for the prevention of cruelty and injustice between man and man, and by discarding its morbid and irrational views of the effect of the love of money and the acquisition of wealth upon the morality of mankind.

The state can assist the productive process by advocating with equal warmth the interests of organized labor

and organized capital by legislative regard for the wage-earners as well as for the profit-earners, since high wages—if they represent intelligent and skillful labor—make big profits.

Society, moreover, should regard it as the most sacred of its duties *to open the doors of opportunity* to the masses, for the radical defect of all past civilizations and of all past institutions, whether religious, political or social, has been *their exclusiveness!* It is a moral impossibility for any member of the human family to attain perfect felicity as long as there shall exist any other human being suffering from the restrictions of poverty and ignorance.

At the bottom of all progress arises from the insatiable and ever-multiplying wants of man. These arouse his intelligence, his intelligence creates his wealth, his wealth makes morality a possibility. The invention of the bow and arrow produced a moral transformation by improving the material condition of the savage; it was a great labor-saving invention; it afforded time for securing better food, clothing and shelter, the moral effect of which cannot be disputed; it opened the way for more intercourse of a commercial and social nature; it tended to strengthen the marriage tie and the family relation by making home life somewhat more permanent and attractive—and happy homes are by common consent the very wombs in which morality is born. It is not the love of money, but the lack of it, which is the root of all evil. Poverty is the source of slavery and the foundation of despotism. It is the destroyer of manhood and morality. But if the bow and arrow and other crude inventions were among the early contributors to the morality of the race, what shall we say of the stupendous productive system of to-day, run by organized labor and organized capital—*the twin sisters of modern industry?* If it has produced more material wealth, has it not also multiplied happy homes, and thus been the precursor of *moral advance?*

WILLIAM E. HART.

Country Boy Versus Town Boy.

II.

In ancient and mediæval times the actual tillers of the soil were slaves, or at the best thralls, serfs or peons. All appellations of the countryman were terms of contempt, as helot, rusticus, villain, jaque, varlet, churl, clown, etc. To this miserable class the city arose upon the vision as a refuge from hardship, oppression and infamy. During the Middle Ages the protection afforded by the towns to the runaway serfs of the feudal lords was a constant source of hostilities between the sturdy burghers on the one hand and the lords with their knights and men-at-arms on the other. During this dark period the fires of liberty burned only within the ramparts of cities.

A prominent feature of the census is the rapid increase of the cities at the expense of the country population. Nor is it a distinctive feature of the American census. The movement cityward is no less noticeable in Europe. Some are disposed to view this fact with alarm, and to deplore the decadence of the love for rural life. The truth is that the inclination to abandon rural labors is not a distinctive feature of the nineteenth century, but was noticed by Solomon and even commended by him. "The labor of the foolish wearieh every one of them, because he knoweth not how to go to the city."—Ecc. x., 15.

The tendency to resort to cities having always existed, it has been greatly stimulated by the invention of labor-saving machinery for farm use, and by the demand for labor in the large manufacturing centers. While this state of affairs will doubtless result in final good, during the transition stage of the movement much harm is done to both country and city. In the country, school districts are being depopulated. The big farms are eating up the

smaller ones. The agricultural element is rapidly resolving itself into two classes—large land owners and tenant employes. The farm owners are, as a class, hard and insatiate taskmasters. Their "hands," being tenants at will of the owner, are utterly at his mercy in the imposition of tasks. There is no limit to hours of labor as there is in cities. From 3 A.M. till 9 P.M. the laborer is kept at work. The only time that he can do anything for himself is during the noon hour, "while restin'."

All this labor is given for a mere pittance, usually from sixteen to twenty dollars per month and rent of house and garden. The wretched tenant is kept so poor that he has no chance to "go to the city." His wife is ill-clad, sad-eyed and overworked; his children unclothed, unshod, unkempt and unclean. As a class, these farm hands are much more wretched than factory employes. Nor is this wretched state of existence confined entirely to the employes. The farmer boasts that he labors more hours than do his hands. And though he owns hundreds of acres, lives in a brick house and has a fine equipage, the farmer and his family are about as poor in their secret family life as most of his tenants. He will labor and scrimp and save to buy another piece of land; labor and scrimp and save to pay for one recently purchased, and sell the best of the farm produce and live upon the refuse.

These are the maxims of economy among the great mass of farmers. The farmer is a slave, and his wife (alas for the farmer's wife!) is the slave of a slave. Search the records of our insane asylums, and verify the sad fact that by far the larger percentage of female inmates are farmers' wives. Now answer, if you can, how may we expect either physical or mental robustness from such maternity? Now, harp all you will about the pure air and free sunshine of country life, but account, if you can, for the generally stunted physical and mental growth of country children. Let any unprejudiced observer compare the hearty, rollicking children in a town or city schoolyard with

the joyless and tired-looking crowd gathered around the door of a country school. Gen. W. T. Sherman, who by his famous march put the physical capacity of American manhood to the severest test, mentions in his "Memoirs" that city soldiers far excelled those from the country in enduring the hardships of the march, the privations and vigils of the siege, and the assaults of diseases. Among European military men, both of ancient and of modern times, it is a sort of maxim of war that city levies are more readily disciplined, more enduring on forced marches, and steadier in actions than the rustics. The vital statistics of the country disclose the fact that there are numbers of diseases prevalent in the country to a greater degree than in the city.

Of course, contagious diseases number more victims in city than in country. But in noticing rates of mortality of American cities, due regard must be had for the fact that said rates are unduly swelled by large numbers of foreigners, many of whom are from unhealthy regions of the Old World. This element is not considered as a product of American life conditions. Some cities are more sanitary than others, as, also, some parts of the country are more salubrious than others. But, taken as a class, the farmers suffer more from constitutional diseases. Such is shown to be the case, according to life insurance tables. For instance, dyspepsia might be called the farmer's disease. Its greater prevalence in the country is due to a number of causes, such as unskilled cookery and haste and worry at meals during busy seasons. Greasy biscuit, fat pork swimming in gravy, and the everlasting pie are the main items in the farmer's bill of fare. Strange as it may seem, it is a fact that usually there is a greater variety of viands on the mechanic's table than on that of the farmer. The writer has spent months in farmhouses where fresh beef or mutton is almost an utter stranger. It makes its appearance only for a few days in the year, during the harvest and threshing. Chickens are eaten only for the regalement of company, or when the market for poultry is low. In the

rush and hurry of attending to the large field crops, the neglect of the garden is a common feature of farm mismanagement. "Go to town to see good gardens," is a saying among farmers. The mechanic or merchant can enjoy all the luxuries of garden, orchard and dairy at moderate cost, the year round. His wife cooks only for her own family, and usually possesses a fair share of culinary skill.

Besides ill-cooked food and the eternal sameness of the country fare, there are other causes tending to produce the weak physique of the agriculturist. The principal one is overwork and exposure of growing children. "Never work nor ride a growing animal," says the thrifty farmer, "but see that it has sufficient range, plenty of nourishment and comfortable quarters." At the same time his own children are forced out into the chill and gray of early morning to breathe the malaria-laden vapor arising from the fields of rag-weed, poorly-drained land, and stagnant creeks and ponds. Little girls scarcely more than infants are hurried to the thirsty harvesters with jugs of water nearly as large as themselves. Small boys of ten or twelve are seen tugging and dragging large plows at the land corners, hastening to get into the next furrow before being caught by the plowmen behind. The young lad is taken from school to "shuck the down row," which puts his strength and endurance to a severe test. While our legislatures are interfering to protect child-life in factories, it would be well if they would place like restraints upon the employment of children at farm labor, which is much heavier than any done in factories, and the hours are much longer. While a reasonable amount of labor is beneficial to growing children, excessive and long-continued toil deforms the skeleton and hardens the tissues before full development of body is acquired; it likewise brutalizes the nature and dwarfs the intellect.

Even the best of pupils sometimes tax the patience of teachers by carelessness and want of industry. Teachers

in city schools, while bemoaning the shortcomings of their pupils, are apt to imagine that these faults are peculiar to city children. No teacher who has had experience in both kinds of schools would prefer the dull, stolid, stupid, stubborn country children to the bright, studious, winsome, cheerful and obedient children in towns and cities. If any city instructor doubts the truth of this statement, let it be supposed that such an one make the experiment of one term in a country school. Let us take him to a regular Simon-pure country "destrict," remote from any town or city, where rural virtue and simplicity are uncontaminated.

Now, before installing our experimenter in his school-room, let him take a view of his pupil—the much-lauded country boy, as he appears on his native heath. Let us suppose that the teacher appears at church the Sunday preceding the day for opening school in September. The weather is still hot, and just before services the male portion of the congregation, including the redoubtable "country boy," is gathered in groups on the outside. Now let our experimenter use his eyes well, for he is about to see the country boy at his very best, with his best foot foremost, as it were. Behold a crowd of them of all ages, between ten and twenty-two, all clad in their ill-fitting "store clothes" and black wool hats. Not a single straw hat or garment suitable to the weather is seen upon the ground. Many doff their heavy coats, either hanging them on the fence or carrying them into church slung over one shoulder. They all duly "size up" the pedagogue, and their conversation turns upon the question of "startin' to school." They and their elders come to the conclusion that "after corn-shuckin'" is the proper time for the big boys of the "destrict" to start, but that the little ones may go to-morrow, if there be "nothing particular" to be done at home.

After this cursory inspection of the boys and "men folks" the teacher enters the church to make the acquaintance of the mothers and sisters. Comparatively few of the

former are present, as some one must stay at home to get dinner and watch the hawks, and who, indeed, should perform these duties but the mother? Our novice casts his eye around in a vain search for the ideal country girl—her of the novels—with the lissome form, rosy checks, clear complexion, artless ways and quiet costume, etc., etc. But what a disappointment is here! The actual country girl seems to belong to one of two distinct classes as to physique, namely, the short and squabby form with greasy complexion, and the lean and gaunt with insipid and freckled complexion. This classification is largely the result of the effect, upon differing bodily constitutions, of eating fat pork, standing for hours over the hot stove cooking the greasy compounds wherewith to fill the stomachs of harvesters, imbrueing the hands in suds of strong soft-soap, wherein are washed the heavy check shirts and jean "breeches" of fathers, brothers and hired hands. These are only a few items of the heavy, endless and thankless toil that falls to the lot of the "women folks" on a farm.

But here let us dismiss the country girl, as we wish to experiment mainly with her brothers, who come in the church when the first stanza is well under way, and they come as the letting-in of a torrent. The clatter of the heavy boot-heels on the bare floor makes known the free and independent spirit of the swain. The observant teacher notices with dismay that these boots are shuffled and thumped upon the floor ceaselessly during the entire service, and unless the minister has the voice of Stentor, precious little of the sermon is heard. At first he takes comfort in the supposition that all this comes from the natural and guileless rudeness of rusticity; but he soon finds that levity in the House of God is by no means peculiar to city youths. In the case of the latter, this levity manifests itself mostly in form of handkerchief flirtation, stolen glances or the surreptitious note; but usually nothing is done to mar the general quietude and outward decorum of the city congregation. The young people of a

country congregation awkwardly and noisily imitate their city cousins in these frivolities, and go far beyond them by adding giggling and whispering. The city dude, who at the conclusion of services stands at one side of the walk to ogle the ladies as they leave the church door, finds his counterpart in the country hawbuck, who squares himself fairly in the aisle, doorway or walk, and makes the objects of his stolid stare go around him.

The service over, our pedagogue enters the carriage of his host, and upon his arrival at his boarding house he partakes of the much-lauded country fare. It being Sunday, the meal is of course better in quality and served up with more taste than on ordinary occasions. The hog is king of the farmer's table; his flesh, fried in a great plenty of lard, holds the post at one end of the table. Ham or shoulder may form the contents of the dish to-day, but during the week fat sides or "sow-belly" will be served up three times per day regularly. The cabbage, the potatoes, the turnips and the fried mush have a liberal ointment of hog's fat. The guest indulges some pleasant anticipations with reference to the fruits, but just as he is about ready to enjoy some, paterfamilias exercises his prerogative as head of the house by treating himself thereto, sticking his knife alternately into his mouth and into every dish of fruit on the table. Should any member of the family expostulate, it only draws forth the rejoinder, "Well, I reckon my mouth isn't pizen for the rest of you."

But this is by the way. On the morning following the school begins, and for about six or eight weeks it runs fairly well. Many of the larger girls, and perhaps two or three of the older boys, whose parents have the intelligence to see the importance of utilizing the golden opportunities of youth for mind culture, have been attending with tolerable regularity, and the teacher is beginning to congratulate himself upon the outlook. But our town pedagogue is blissfully ignorant of the gathering storm. The more orderly part of the school have been looking forward to

the "startin' of the big boys" with a great deal of apprehension. At last the fateful morning arrives. The country boy rises early, as is his wont, feeds the stock, curries the horses, cleans out the cow-shed and hauls several loads of manure before starting to school. You see that, now the "busy time" is at an end, the "hand" has been duly discharged, so saving the amount of his wages. After his father is certain that no more "chores" can be found for him to do, the boy is sent to school with the injunction, "Now, see that you make that teacher airn his big wages." By this it is meant, *make the teacher painfully sensible of your presence*. The redoubtable country boy falls in with a crowd of his fellows, and the entire pack comes stamping into the schoolroom, kicking off chunks of mud as big as brickbats. Their irruption is similar to that of a horde of Huns or Vandals. They storm through the room, jumping over seats, tumbling books out of the desks that they select as their own, utterly regardless of the rights of pre-occupancy, take a contemptuous look at the teacher's program and other blackboard work, raise a whoop and rush out into the playground. It being their first morning, they were at some little pains to come early, but during the rest of the term they are in no wise particular on that score. "Work at home to do" is the excuse, if they descend to offer any at all, for rabbit hunting and other amusements on the way. The "meetin' house manners" may have been merely the outcome of natural rudeness or carelessness, but there seems to be a gratuitous fierceness in the digging of heels into the floor, shuffling of feet, breaking of ink bottles, slamming of slates, forced hawking and spitting and other acts that go to swell the tempest in the schoolroom.

With dismay the teacher sees the well-studied program and tolerable system of gradation kicked into a shapeless wreck by this tumultuary mob of newcomers. Each and every one of them is a law unto himself as regards the branches he will study. One gawky youth of eighteen

comes with a dog-eared arithmetic and a seven-by-nine slate under his arm. He "jist wants to study 'rithmetic and recite it four times a day instid of readin', spellin' and grammar." Another, who has seen the array of books used by his city cousin, emulously aspires to study algebra, geometry, rhetoric, book-keeping, in fact, the entire curriculum of a four-term high school. No arguments that the "lazy teacher" may advance can turn him from his purpose, in which he is backed up by his father, who "pays taxes," you understand, and wants his money's worth out of the school. He is apt to be an influential man in township politics, and can array the trustee against the teacher in case of a conflict. In despair the teacher gives up all attempt at gradation, and proceeds to cast the program of daily recitations anew, cutting it up into homœopathic doses as to time, and so makes the best that can be made of what is a bad job to begin with. After this reconstruction the school is again in something like running order, when, at the beginning of another week, in comes another pack of Goths, whose qualifications and needs are apt to be different from their predecessors, and, of course, another readjustment of the scheme is called for. And so this trouble continues until nearly Christmas.

Among this riotous element that exists in the great majority of country schools there are undoubtedly a few pupils who honestly wish to study and acquire some education. But such a one is sadly handicapped by his faulty school habits, *i. e.*, attendance only during the short season when but little work can be found for him at home, and irregularity of attendance during even that brief period. Frequent change of teachers supplements the evil of long vacations. From the fragmentary nature of the pupil's stock of knowledge, the teacher can find no firm ground upon which to found a superstructure of education. For instance, in arithmetic, we will say (but the same conditions exist in the other branches), the teacher allows the student to begin at percentage (because, you know, he had

been "twice through the arithmetic" the previous winter!). But it soon becomes apparent that, aside from "gittin' the answers," the pupil has no comprehension of the subject, because of the cloudiness of his knowledge of the underlying principles of decimals. Supposing that the pupil submits to being "turned back" to decimals, he is here found to limp badly in multiplication, and is hopelessly "stuck" in a problem involving long division; nay, more, his main difficulty in solving any problem lies in his utter inability even to read it intelligently. In every one he merely juggles with the figures, and if the number of the page or of the problem can be made available in securing the answer, said number is ruthlessly conscripted into the solution. The habit of mental concentration must be acquired by the age of fourteen. In ninety-nine cases out of every hundred the foundation of education is laid by that age. But the country youth has let that decisive period pass by without acquiring ability to fix the mind upon a given subject for a certain period of time. The sudden change from severe physical labor to the rest afforded by school induces sluggishness and drowsiness in the few who are not disposed to unruliness. The greater number are possessed with the idea that all manner of work and anxiety is left at home, and that school is a place for recreation.

Now, woe to the male teacher without firmness and plenty of muscle to back it up! Woe to the lady without extraordinary tact and charm of manner! Either at the best has but indifferent success in subjecting to any sort of discipline such a mass of rudeness and vulgarity.

JOHN M. WELDING.

(*Continued.*)

The Carnegie Conflict.

The Homestead strike is not merely a quarrel between Andrew Carnegie and his work-people; it is an industrial crisis, the social bearings of which are more complex and far-reaching than appear on the surface. Those who, like the *New York Sun*, see nothing in this affair but a violation of law, the remedy for which is policemen and soldiers, only show how completely they fail to understand the true economic inwardness of the situation.

The rough-and-ready way of dealing with strikers who exercise violence by shooting them down, after the manner of Napoleon with the Parisian sections, seems very thorough and simple, but the trouble with it is that it does not solve the difficulty of the situation. As Burke said of the American Revolution, "you cannot indict a whole people," so one may say of a large mob of strikers, you cannot shoot a whole community. And though the strikers put themselves technically in the wrong when they fire on Pinkerton or other private armed guards, and though the first duty of police and government in such a case is to restore civil order, if needful by force, yet the hidden elements of the matter are not resolved in this action. What is at stake here is a whole social status, which can only be permanently adjusted by a modification of economic and social relations. Of course it is easy to say that Mr. Carnegie may do what he will with his own. This is the abstract, undisputed right of every employer in accordance with law. But the extreme of law is usually the extreme of injury; the literal enforcement of one man's technical rights, regardless, we do not say of the rights, but of the welfare of all the rest, may break up a society. If all debated questions were decided by the strict letter of the law there could be no advance, for the law is made out of and for the past, whereas each of these

striker's quarrels is the coming to life in the womb of society of the embryo of the future. For four hundred years (1425-1825) English law made it conspiracy for workingmen to associate for the purpose of raising their wages, shortening their hours of labor, or in any other way changing their industrial condition contrary to the wishes of their masters. If English laborers had continued strictly to obey the letter of this law, they would probably still be working twelve hours a day, and be liable to imprisonment for demanding a change or daring to ask for higher wages. But their constant assault upon traditional customs, even though backed by law, caused a modification of both unwritten and written law, because their interests were the interests of society, and their demands a part of the real social advance.

To treat the struggle between employer and employed strictly by existing law would be to cast the present back into the dim rules of the past. Apart from the fatal fact that it cannot be done on account of the magnitude of the forces and interests involved, it is not for the interest of society that it should be done. The new movement of employes is an evolution, and as such society is interested in its success, and cannot afford to have it fail. And this indeed is true, quite aside from the question as to whether the alleged wrongs of the workmen are really wrongs needing redress, or only newly-evolving rights and interests. The community is interested in either case in the workmen's success, because that carries society forward. The overwhelming interest centered in the Homestead strike is the welfare of society. To insist upon the extreme enforcement of law regarding the rights of property, or upon anything else contrary to this, is to obstruct the advance of civilization itself and force the use of violence to accomplish what otherwise would come by the silent forces of social evolution. It is therefore from the standpoint of *society* and its interest that all rights and duties, exactions and concessions of both parties to the struggle should be

considered, because it is as parts of one social whole that in the end their interests are identical.

First, then, what are the facts of the case? According to the testimony of both the workmen and Mr. Carnegie's manager, Mr. Frick, the dispute originated in the proposal of the company to change the scale of wages and conditions of work. The changes proposed consisted of: (1) A reduction in the minimum of the the scale of piece work from \$26.50 to \$23 a ton for 4 x 4 Bessemer billets. (2) A change in the date of expiration of the scale from June 30 to December 31. (3) A permanent reduction in the rate paid per ton at furnaces and mills where improved machinery had been introduced.

Now, it will be seen that all these were changes of economic conditions, in which the laborers were deeply interested. In order to understand the nature of the first proposal, it is necessary to know what is meant by the "scale," because this is a method of payment which is not generally adopted. It is a system by which the price paid per ton for making Bessemer billets rises and falls with the variation of the market price of the product. Hitherto, the limit below which the price shall not fall has been \$26.50 per ton, and the new minimum proposed by the company is \$23 per ton. Thus, the change gives the company the right to reduce wages \$3.50 per ton lower than was permitted by the old scale. The significance of this proposal the workmen understand very much better than the uninformed public.

It is presumed that with the fall in the price of Bessemer billets the profits of the concern are diminished, and therefore the company cannot afford to pay the same price for labor as when the price is high, which at first sight seems quite plausible; but it will be remembered that in this instance improved machinery has been introduced by which the cost of production will be permanently reduced, and under the influence of normal competition the price of billets will be permanently lowered, and this lowering will

not diminish the profits of the company at all, because it is the result of a diminished cost of production. The result, therefore, would be that a permanently lower rate per ton would be paid to the workmen, because the selling price would be permanently lowered. In this way the regular wages per ton would be reduced while the profits remain unchanged. The opposition of the workmen to this change, therefore, was not only quite natural, but strictly economic, as the result would probably be a net reduction of wages, for which there is no economic or social justification.

The second point, which demands a change of the time of fixing the scale, is of the same character as that involved in the granite cutters' strike, the object being to fix the date at a time of the year when laborers are least able to resist an objectionable proposition.

The third proposition calls for an actual reduction in the wages paid per ton at all furnaces and mills where improved machines are used. The reason urged by the Carnegie Company for changing the scale of wages is that they had introduced highly improved machinery which enabled the workmen to produce a much larger quantity per day, and being paid by piece work it greatly increased their wages. They therefore proposed to reduce the rate in proportion to the increased productive capacity of the new machine. In other words, they proposed to exclude the laborers from all advantage in the new machinery, their change of scale actually giving them a little less than before.

Of course it is a mistake to assume that piece-work wages should not be lowered at all with the introduction of improved machinery. That would prevent any increase of profit or fall of prices and would defeat itself, as nobody would be foolish enough to continue to furnish capital if they were not permitted to share its gains. There is no reason in equity or economics why a few laborers who happen to use improved machinery, which they did nothing to create, should have all the benefit resulting from its

use. These improvements are largely social products, and the benefits they create should be shared by the whole community, which includes not only laborers and capitalists, but the great body of consumers. And this will be done by the natural operation of economic law if all are permitted to freely pursue their own interest. The increased product will at first go to capitalists in larger profits, but competition soon gives part of it to the community in lower prices, and if laborers are sufficiently organized to become an active competitive force they will receive part of it in higher wages, and all are better off. This is the only way capital makes any real contribution to society. And it was to prevent the Homestead workmen from participating in the economic gains from his improved machinery that Mr. Carnegie inaugurated the present lockout, despite the offer of the workmen to arbitrate the differences, a doctrine which Mr. Carnegie has heretofore advocated.*

So far, then, as the economics of the situation are concerned, the laborers are clearly in the right. It is only by constant resistance to such subtle encroachments upon their wages and demanding a share in new developments that the laborers' social status is maintained and their progress secured. This much will probably be admitted by everybody except Mr. Carnegie and his man Frick. It will readily be conceded that the workmen had a right to reject the new scale, and even that they were justified in doing so, but it is the means they used to accomplish their object that made them the enemies of society, and forfeited their right to public consideration. That is the nut of the situation. It is here that the first sin against society was committed. If we examine the history of the matter from this point on we shall discover who the real sinner is; and it may appear that after all the party really responsible for the riot is not the Amalgamated Association, but Mr.

* "I would lay it down as a maxim that there is no excuse for a strike or a lockout until arbitration of differences has been offered by one party and refused by the other."—"An Employer's View of the Labor Question." *Forum*, April, 1886, p. 118.

Andrew Carnegie, author of "Triumphant Democracy" and "An Employer's View of the Labor Question."

What occurred after the Carnegie propositions were rejected? Did the workmen proceed to strike, or in any way disturb the rights of the company or the public? Nothing of the kind. They simply declined to accept the propositions, and at the expiration of the agreement would probably have quitted work as the only course left open to them. Did Mr. Carnegie act with the same good faith toward the laborers and the public, and rely upon open competition to adjust the economic differences? Not at all. On the contrary, he instituted a program the execution of which shows that his conceptions of industrial evolution and the economic relation of labor and capital are more like those of a Kaiser than of a citizen of a "Triumphant Democracy." He at once decided to disarm the laborers of all the social power they possessed for enforcing their claims, which was to break up their union and ultimately force them to deal with him single-handed, in which encounter he felt sure of winning. To accomplish this he began a rather deep-laid scheme, the first step of which was to formally discharge his entire force, thus technically severing his relation with the laborers.

Of course this deceived nobody. Everybody knew that the men were not discharged at all in any real sense, but that a "lockout," a capitalists' strike, had begun, a move which Mr. Carnegie would not have dared to make had he the remotest idea that the men would pack up and move away. This is proven by his recent notice, that "all the old hands who did not return by a certain date would lose their positions." When, then, on the pretext of protecting his property (which was never in the slightest danger), he hired several hundred armed men, for whom he proposed temporarily to make his mill a barracks, and thus practically put the town under martial constraint by a private armed force, in order to overawe the workmen into accepting his terms, he changed the point of the conflict. From this time on it

ceased to be a question of the scale, and became a question of the laborers' right to act through their organization.

Mr. Carnegie here began to develop his fight against the Union as such, counting it rather than the men to be his real enemy. This, indeed, has been the feeling of all capitalists in their contentions with laborers. Capitalists think the unions are bad, workmen know them to be good, and inasmuch as they are powerful undoubtedly, the feeling about them on both sides is intense; but any one who looks at the matter from a social view-point will see the immense improvement in the workman's condition which trade unions have established. To attack them, therefore, is to attack a means of social elevation for the masses, to attack progress and civilization, to attack the welfare of a majority of our citizens. The capitalist then turns into a private enemy of the public good when he attacks the unions which improve our masses because they curtail his power. But here we need only to quote him against himself when he says:

"Some establishments in America have refused to recognize the right of men to form themselves into these unions; although I am not aware that any concern in England would dare to take this position. This policy, however, may be regarded as only a temporary phase of the situation. The right of workingmen to combine and to form trade unions is no less sacred than the right of the manufacturer to enter into associations and conferences with his fellow, and it must be sooner or later conceded. Indeed, it gives one but a poor opinion of the American workman if he permits himself to be deprived of a right which his fellow in England has conquered for himself long since. My experience has been that trade unions upon the whole are beneficial both to labor and to capital. They certainly educate the workingmen, and give them a truer conception of the relations of capital and labor than they could otherwise form. The ablest and best workmen eventually come to the front in these organizations; and it may be laid down as a rule that the more intelligent the workmen, the fewer the contests with employers."*

* Andrew Carnegie's "An Employer's View of the Labor Question."—*The Forum*, April, 1886, p. 119.

The men, having discovered Mr. Carnegie's tactics, adopted similar methods themselves, and when the barge loads of Pinkertons arrived they refused to permit them to land in the town. As to who fired the first shot the testimony is very conflicting, but certain it is that the riot resulted from the forceful opposition of the men to the landing of Carnegie's armed force.

In the strict eye of the law the men were clearly in the wrong and Carnegie possibly in the right, as his whole movement was probably planned with the aid of legal experts, but economically and socially the men were as surely right and Carnegie wrong.

In opposing labor organizations Mr. Carnegie is putting himself in the same position towards social advance as did the Southern slaveholders in 1861, and is just as sure to be ultimately defeated. He is arraying himself against the obvious movement of civilization, which will stop for no man, be he a king or a Carnegie. Labor organizations are an historic and economic accompaniment of capitalists' corporations. They are as necessary to laborers under the wages system as factories are to capitalistic production. They are the social machinery by which the competitive power of laborers is exercised and their share in modern progress secured. The idea of exterminating trade unions is a relic of the hand-labor period, and one which should have died with the repeal of the conspiracy laws.

To talk of individual contracts under factory conditions is the height of absurdity. Every employer knows, and none better than Mr. Carnegie, that no large concern employing several thousand hands could possibly make a special contract with each individual laborer as to wages, hours of labor and other conditions. The very nature of the factory system itself demands that wages, hours and other conditions under which laborers work shall be uniform, otherwise the economy of large machineries and expensive plants could not be secured. Indeed, these are essential elements of modern systematized industry.

In reality all that is meant by the catch-words "individual contract" is that employers who are highly organized shall have the "freedom" to take laborers singly in order the more easily to make them jointly accept their terms. It means that in making contracts laborers shall not have the same right to be represented by the most competent of their craft that capitalists have—a condition which is as uneconomical as it is unjust, and one which neither the interests of society nor the spirit of progress will long endure.

The right to employ non-union laborers is also a question that is raised by the Homestead strike. It is an essential feature of individual freedom that every man shall have the right to work for whomsoever and under whatever conditions he pleases, but, like every other social right, it is limited by the rights of others and the general welfare. It should be remembered that there are really no vacancies created by a strike. There is only a temporary cessation of work during the settlement of disputed terms. As a matter of fact, in such cases the employers neither expect nor desire that their laborers should permanently leave, and *vice versa*. The laborers always represent a demand for better conditions of work. If they succeed, they secure it not only for themselves, but for their whole class, or make it much easier for the remainder to do so.

Therefore, to object to the employment of a non-union man under such conditions is altogether different from employing non-union men where no dispute as to terms is involved, because the very opportunity here created would not exist at all but for the effort of the union man who is trying to improve it. While of course it is out of the question to think of preventing the employment of non-union men by any regulation, or of permitting intimidation, it is essential to free competition between capital and labor that organized laborers should have the same right to induce outsiders not to take their places that

organized capitalists have to induce them to do so. Otherwise workmen are unfairly handicapped out of the contest. If these conditions had been vouchsafed by Mr. Carnegie, Homestead might have been the scene of a peaceful economic contest instead of a bloody riot.

A careful review of the economics and history of the Homestead trouble shows that the issue was really an economic one, that might have been adjusted by strictly economic methods; and that the real cause of the riot was the ignorant failure of the company to recognize that an economic solution was possible and would be the best for all parties; and a determination to insist upon an antiquated resort to force to establish legal rights outgrown by the advance of society. This is another illustration of the social law so often emphasized in history, namely, that civilization always demands the adjustment of political rights to the requirements of advancing economic and social relations, and that persistent opposition to this law by either kings or capitalists is sure to force an eruption dangerous, if not fatal, to social welfare and free government. It is the function of social philosophy and statesmanship to teach economic principles and devise political measures that shall bring about this readjustment in accordance with the trend of social evolution, which, of course, demands that all social modifications shall be based upon the principle of increasing the security of personal and political liberty, the safety of property, and the freedom of competitive adjustment of economic difficulties.

The Carnegie conflict has shown that in order to secure this several measures are necessary. First of all must of course be an unqualified enforcement of the rights of property. This is a fundamental necessity to social freedom and progress, and should therefore be made absolute and complete. No industrial conditions whatsoever should be set up as a defense for the destruction of property. In fact, property rights and personal safety must be held absolutely sacred, and this laborers must religiously recognize no

less than capitalists. But to secure these the fullest opportunity for economic competition must be guaranteed. This involves first, the recognition of trade unions as a necessary part of the industrial organization of society, entitled the same legal status and support afforded to organized to capital. Second, that the refusal of capital to treat with labor organizations and especially to institute lockouts for the purpose of forcing workmen to disband their unions, shall be regarded as against public policy, to be discouraged by the courts and disfavored by legislation as against the interests of the State. Third, the entire responsibility of protection to life and property shall be in the hands of the community, and no capitalist shall be permitted to employ private troops under any circumstances, except when called upon to do so by the authorities for the purpose of strengthening the ordinary police machinery of the community. Fourth, that in all cases of industrial disputes, laborers shall have the same right peacefully to dissuade laborers from taking their places that employers have to induce them to do so. This indeed is necessary to the efficiency of the strike, and the strike must be recognized as being a part of the competitive machinery of modern industry, as it is. There is no other method as yet devised by which the competition of laborers for a higher, because better paid status can be secured, and as such the strike is of incalculable value to the community. Those who see in it only a disturbance and disorder look at the surface alone. But those who look below the surface will discern the method of the gradual rise of the ancient serf to the modern laborer, and of the modern laborer to the condition of a comfortable, reasonable and intelligent citizen—one corner stone of public prosperity.

Editorial Crucible.

Correspondence on all economic and Political topics is invited, but all communications whether conveying facts, expressing opinions or asking questions, either for private use or for publication, must bear the writer's full name and address. And when answers are desired other than through the magazine, or manuscripts returned, communications must be accompanied by requisite return postage.

The editors are responsible only for the opinions expressed in unsigned articles. While offering the freest opportunity for intelligent discussion and cordially inviting expressions of well digested opinions, however new and novel, they reserve themselves the right to criticise freely all views presented in signed articles whether invited or not.

ANARCHISTS ALWAYS take advantage of strikes to get in their fiendish work, not from sympathy with the efforts of laborers to improve their condition, but to defeat the best effects of labor movements by implicating strikers in assassination. No fair critic will make the strikers responsible for Berkman's performances.

THE STEAMERS "City of New York" and "City of Paris" have been released by the British Government, and will therefore soon fly the American flag, and contracts have been made by their owners to build two more in this country of the same tonnage, so that we may get to ship-building again soon, even under the McKinley Act.

THE BILL of Senator Sherman to repeal the Silver Act of 1890, commanding the coinage of four and one-half millions ounces of silver per month, is every way worthy of immediate passage. Strange that good silver measures never originate with the other party, whose plank is said by the *Evening Post* to be so much sounder than that of the Republicans.

THOSE WHO assert that the tariff is a tax, and that that tax comes out of the pocket of the workingman, would find it impossible to find a workingman whose mode of living is reduced by so much as a single customary comfort on account of the McKinley Bill. In fact, the savings bank accounts go to show that the workingmen have more to their credit than ever.

THE *Pall Mall Gazette* thinks our tariff makes the United States such an expensive country to live in that if Canada will adopt Free Trade the stream of immigration to America will be turned toward Manitoba. Good! May Canada accept the suggestion. We shall probably then be relieved from the painful necessity of passing stringent immigration laws to prevent this country from being made the dumping ground for the social refuse of Europe.

THE ENGLISH elections seem finally to promise a majority for Home Rule. The Lords, of course, will resist and throw out the bill, which will just show how much sense the educated classes have, as a rule, in affairs. Conservatives in an evolutionary universe are always wrong, as evolution is pushed on by irresistible forces and cannot be defeated. In fact, the real disturbers of human society are just the conservatives, who are always in the way. Rivers run smoothly enough except where stationary obstacles make them fret and foam, and conservatives are stationary obstacles to progress.

PRESIDENT MCLEOD advocates the Reading leases because they do not seek monopolistic gains, but only to bring the coal to the consumer on surer and better terms, because they will prevent great wasteage of coal which once gone is irreplaceable, and because advances in the price of coal do not yet reach the prices of five years ago; because further consolidation of interests always results in benefits to the public, because the interests of investors will be secured,

overproduction stopped and local interests developed. All this is what should result from concentration of capital, but it sounds very much like buncombe when compared with the rising prices of coal under the Reading combination.

MR. WM. EDGAR sets forth that the Russian land system is the real cause of the Russian famine, since it is held in a communistic manner so that no one knows what piece of land will be his for the next year. Therefore each one skins his own piece, to the eventual ruin of all. The emancipation of the serf severed the connection between landed proprietors and farmers, with the result of removing the natural heads or leaders of society and decreasing production until all are now poor. He looks for a restoration of old relations as the only thing able to bring back the former prosperity. Of course that cannot be done, and a better economic method would be the general introduction of machinery which could increase production. This probably will happen as soon as the present wave of fanaticism and persecution has passed by enough to let the people attend to mundane affairs once more.

THE RAVING of the New York *Sun* about the enforcement of law at Homestead is a little odd when compared with its discussion of the enforcement of law in the South. It demands the most rigid enforcement of martial law against the Carnegie strikers, while it insists upon making the right of mob rule in the South the sole issue of the campaign. While frankly admitting that the colored people constitute 60 per cent. of the population of South Carolina, it unblushingly demands that they shall by force, if necessary, be overruled by the minority of white Democrats, and this is what it calls Democracy and personal freedom. Nor do we remember to have seen in the columns of the *Sun* a single rebuke to Parnellites in their head-smashing crusade against all who ventured to disfavor their candidates. But if we remember correctly, Irish-

men and Southern whites are Democrats, which perhaps makes all the difference.

ROGER SHERMAN writes of "the gospel of greed," as seen in the Standard Oil Trust, with the usual vituperation of its methods of substituting co-operation for competition, and asserts that it never did anything to improve the methods or machineries of business, but only absorbed other peoples' improvements. He wonders if money power is not now replacing the physical force power of earlier days, with results as bad and as provocative of revolution. He might as well wonder whether letting steam into the piston cylinder to do work is not as bad as keeping it shut up in the steam chest until it explodes. The truth is, all human industry is an effort to get all one can from his work, and it is no more blamable in one than in another, but is really laudable in all. "The gospel of greed" is just this human effort put into contemptuous phrase, and means only that men are trying to get as good a subsistence, that is, as much result out of exertion, as possible. What other rational plan of action for a human being is even conceivable?

THE DEMOCRATS are so accustomed to stickling for the letter of the Constitution that they could not express their opposition to Protection in their platform without saying: "We declare it to be a fundamental principle of the Democratic party that the Federal Goverment has no constitutional power to enforce and collect tariff duties, except for the purpose of revenue only." One would think that the framers of the Constitution themselves would know what they intended by it, and about the first act they passed under the Constitution was the adoption of a protective tariff. But the Confederate Constitution was very explicit upon this point. It declared that

"The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties and excises for revenue only, necessary to

pay debts, provide for the common defense and carry on the Government of the Confederate States; but no bounties shall be granted from the Treasury; nor shall any duties or taxes on importations from foreign nations be laid to promote or foster any branch of industry."

It must be that the framers of the Chicago platform have been studying the wrong constitution. The Constitution of the United States is the only one this country recognizes, and we suggest that our Democratic friends get acquainted with it.

MRS. LILLIAN BETTS in the *Christian Union* reviews the tenement house question with some new materials very pertinent to the whole discussion. She cites many examples to prove her point, which is really that the tenement house people live badly not because they must, but because they want to live so. Many are able to live better, but prefer to save their money, and parsimony keeps them in wretched surroundings. A couple married, took a suite of kitchen and two bedrooms, and had a dozen boarders inside of two weeks, although the husband could support his wife easily. The truth about the whole matter is reached just here. Tenement house people are those whose standard of living is too low. Many live as they do because they do not care to live better. There would not be a disgusting tenement left in New York City if the denizens of them were not too contented as they are. It is *they* who make and keep the dirt, squalor and overcrowding, not the landlord, nor society. Until they wish things better, it is vain to give better. Let them begin to wash and scrub, and keep down their filth and overcrowding, and their evils will evaporate like morning dew. Get the low to wish to rise, and rise they will. Teach them to raise their standard of living, and all will change. They can then ask for more wages and get them.

"PUBLIC OPINION" tells us that some one reckons the coal supply of England as unlikely to last more than 125

years. Dr. Isaac Wistar further puts on his figuring cap to announce that American coal will not last above a century and a half. And we always have prophets among us who are cock-sure of evils in the near future which will blast the human race as the sirocco does the confines of Sahara. These croakers always proceed on the supposition that the human race is going to sit still and let things remain as they are. But since the habit of invention has set in, one may be sure that man will discover so many new machines and methods before the next century closes that nature will yield him powers and resources beyond all the dreams of fancy. It is not beyond possibility that he should discover how to make his food out of chemical elements at first hand, and so do without agriculture; make a fire out of hydrogen and oxygen in their native state, and get electricity enough from the clouds to drive all his machinery. We have but just begun to tap the till of nature, in which there is coin of value enough to enrich us for ages. And even of coal it may be said that perhaps it reaches to the center of the earth, and is in bulk inexhaustible and quite attainable with proper machinery, which men will invent when needed. Anyway, the race has a great future before it and a long time to make it in.

THE FEMININE movement in Europe waxes greater and gathers head amain. The number of female students at the University of Paris has increased from 152 in 1890 to 252 this year. The women study medicine, science and letters, as pecuniary attractions are greater in this department. Letters, indeed, are specially adapted to feminine minds, being really a branch of the fine arts. As men become more masculine they tend to leave this pursuit and devote themselves to weightier matters of life and more productive industries. Besides, the women crowd them out, literature being an industry requiring no special and exact knowledge and adapted to unspecialized powers. It is becoming evident that it is no tremendous service to

humanity to appreciate Homer and Shakespeare, or to write poems and essays on matters of taste. The coming man, seeing also that there are greater profits in useful affairs, turns from what in this view may be called the frippery of letters to solid work and achievement. It is a pity in a way to see the women crowding to learn the poor classical knowledge which men are beginning to discard, rather than to apply themselves to the new modern subjects whose range and power are so much greater. The classics can do for women no more than they did for men, which was to make a small, select class of learned triflers, out of whose ranks important leaders of the human race or emancipators of humanity seldom sprang.

THE *Evening Post*, in its anxiety to demonstrate that the Democratic platform is more strongly opposed to free silver than is the Republican, prints the silver clause of the two platforms in parallel columns, and then sagely discourses thus: "The words 'intrinsic and exchangeable value' are not of doubtful meaning. Two different dollars, in order to be of equal intrinsic value, must contain an amount of metal selling for the same price in the open market. Everybody knows this is the true definition of intrinsic value." One would think from this statement that there is some important difference between "intrinsic value" and what the *Post* calls "exchangeable value," meaning exchange value. Now, if "intrinsic value" means the price a thing will command in open market, how does this differ from exchange value, which, as every tyro in political economy knows, is simply the market price. "Intrinsic value" and "exchange value" are in fact the same thing. In economic science there is only one meaning to the word value, and it is the ratio of exchange. When editors learnedly write about "intrinsic value" and "exchange value" as different things they reveal such confusion of thought in economic matters as to seriously impair their claims to a hearing on anything connected with the subject.

Book Reviews.

Contemporary Socialism. By JOHN RAE. (pp. 500) Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1891.

Mr. Rae has written a book admirable at once in scope, style, range and finish, which brings the socialist movement, as it were, down to date. His introductory essay is especially clear and well outlined, and strikes a note of interest likely to attract the reader to a perusal of the whole book. Opposing forces which make for or against the movement are well defined, and one is put at a point of advantage for seeing the progress of the combat between modern society and socialism intelligently and vividly. The clue which Mr. Rae gives as to the difference between American and European socialist tendencies, would, if followed out, have led him to see more exactly that the outcome of the whole question is always far less a result of discussion, and far more one of inevitable industrial development, than he does. For the truth is that, theorize and plan as we may, the evolution of society in its masses is controlled by such an armed legion of daily necessities operating on or through each individual of the social aggregate, that it proceeds to its necessary goal with irresistible force. Like the expansion of metals under heat, or the growth of vegetables, it moves on irrespective of men's convenience, criticism or expectation. And the ideas laid down by the theorists have little control over the movement.

So when Mr. Rae finds that Democracy in America, having equality by nature, and property widely diffused, has a different set of ideas and aims from Democracy in Europe, where equality has to be fought for, and property is concentrated in few hands, he is still wrong in thinking that therefore the evolution of the two societies will be greatly different. Leaders of the two developments will

indeed talk about different ideas and ideals, and will advocate different measures. "Democracy in America" may, as he says, "guided by the spirit of freedom, resist socialism," while "Authoritative Democracy, such as finds favor abroad, leans strongly towards it," and the tendencies thus seem opposed. But it is clear, notwithstanding that inasmuch as industrial efficiency of the highest type—that is, the production of the most goods for the least money—can only result from individualism, individualism must prevail. It can undersell socialism, and therefore would supplant it even if it were once established on its own terms. But meanwhile it acts to prevent the incoming of socialism by its inherent superiority, and every day, as we have before said, individual enterprise in its new projects and undertakings is everywhere establishing more strongholds of power than ever. Socialism talks, fumes, promises, converts, but it establishes nothing, and will discuss itself out, while individualism is hourly going on to do away with the discontent from which springs, through increase of wealth, comfort and equality of the discontented, themselves. How easily and quickly any given people will get to its desired condition depends indeed largely on the set of ideas and means to which they devote their energies. If they see clearly that their well being and their only well being lies in addicting themselves to the increase of wealth through the rapid multiplication of new machineries, and that all desirable things will follow an increase of production, such as equality, wide distribution of products, general comfort, they will reach their goal rapidly. But if their exertions are devoted to moonshine efforts to make poverty equal to wealth, to make idle men as well off as industrious ones, to force the same pay on the clever and the dull, to give a master the same reward with a laborer only, and a mind that invents a machine to produce a dozen for one, only so much as is given to the man who invents nothing, their progress will be slow and their success incomplete. No order of government can stand which attempts unnatural institutions, and it is only

waste of thought and toil to endeavor to repeal the universal distinctions of nature. This is perhaps not altogether visible to Mr. Rae.

He also fails to see that wages depend upon the laborer's standard of living, and accordingly attributes their rate to the rate of general production in the community (p. 307-11); as if that could give us a criterion by which to explain how it comes that a farm hand may get only \$10 a month in the same community where a coachman gets \$50. The farm hand will produce more than the coachman and get less. But Mr. Rae is misled by the primary fact that where a man works and gets his whole product for his return, the amount of his product is the wages of his work. It is, certainly. But when a dozen labor together for one product, the question arises, What shall be the proportion of the product given to each? And it at once becomes evident that each must get what he needs, because if he cannot get that, he will quit and go at something which will give him that. So that the needs of each man, *i.e.*, his standard of living, will determine what he does, and what he will do it for. Even the single man working for himself and having all his product as his reward will not work at anything which fails to give him what he needs, *i.e.*, what is up to his standard of living. So it happens that amount of production does not determine wages, but only determines what work a man will be willing to do on the sole condition that it must give him what he needs to live on; that is, not the least that will support life, but enough to support his customary life.

Mr. Rae favors the Eight-Hour system as not reducing product, but a better reason is that it increases consumption and so develops community and makes regular work more and more necessary. His book is a fine contribution to the literature of the subject.

SOCIAL ECONOMIST.

SEPTEMBER, 1892.

Edward Atkinson and His Economic Methods.

For many years Mr. Edward Atkinson has been prominently before the American people as a *quasi* economist, statesman and general political adviser. Few men have written as much on current industrial, financial and political topics during the last fifteen years. A question has only to be mooted, and he issues forth with an essay, chuck full of figures and diagrams, with an *ex cathedra* assurance of solving the matter. Although economists and careful students of affairs have long since learned to view Mr. Atkinson's data and conclusions with extreme caution and as seldom quotable, the frequent appearance of his unchallenged statements has given him considerable influence with the newspaper reading public.

On the strength of this he has been engaged by the New York *Times* to present the case for free trade in a series of articles in that paper, which are to be republished in a book for campaign purposes. It is claimed in favor of these articles that they are not the work of a politician, but are written by a non-partisan economist, and furnish *par excellence* a scientific treatment of the subject. Indeed, this claim is made by Mr. Atkinson himself in the closing article of his series.

It is not our intention to try to detract by one hair from the value of Mr. Atkinson's work. He has been exceedingly industrious in a field where there are comparatively few workers. We have altogether too few men who are willing to really buckle down to the hard work of in-

vestigating economic subjects, because it is always tedious work and frequently yields but meagre results. In showing that with industrial development and increased effectiveness of capital the labor of workers is lightened, the prices of comforts and luxuries of life lowered, and the purchasing power of day's work greatly increased, he has helped to establish beyond question the fallacy of the claim that the poor grow poorer as the rich grow richer, so persistently put forth by the Georges and Bellamys. It frequently happens, however, that a man is surprisingly right on some particular question and entirely wrong on cognate subjects; and this is very apt to be the case if he is not a careful economist.

Since Mr. Atkinson has taken a brief for free traders, and has become the advocate of a radical change in our national policy, it may be well to examine a little into his merits as an economic expert. Until quite recently his field of operations has been principally in Massachusetts. Unfortunately, however, his record as an industrial prophet in that State is against him. For twenty years he has been conspicuous for his antagonism to movements for industrial reform. Since 1870 there has scarcely been a law added to the statute books in that State for improving the workingmen's condition that does not bear the hoof marks of his opposition. On every occasion his objection was backed by a formidable array of figures, showing that disaster must surely follow a disregard of his warnings. Yet we do not remember that he was ever right in a single instance. All his predictions about the flight of capital and impoverishment of labor if the ten hour and other labor laws were adopted, proved to be as groundless as were those of Mother Shipton. In fact, Massachusetts appears to have advanced in material prosperity and social welfare in proportion as she has refused to heed Mr. Atkinson's advice.

As a sample of his economic wisdom we need only cite his conduct on the ten hour matter. In 1874, after

many years of agitation, the factory operatives of Massachusetts secured the passage of a ten hour law for women and children. Not satisfied with having opposed the measure before its passage, Mr. Atkinson tried for several years together to secure its repeal, but only to see the majority against him increased every year. Finally, in 1879 or 1880, he declared before the Labor Committee of the Legislature that Massachusetts operatives had been deprived of one-eleventh of their wages by this reduction of the hours of labor. This statement was, as usual, backed up by figures obtained from "personal investigation" of the pay rolls of different New England States, which purported to show that the operatives of Maine, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode Island and New York received one-eleventh more wages than those in Massachusetts, because they worked one-eleventh more hours. Mr. Atkinson being a manufacturer in two of the New England States, and also the acknowledged representative of Massachusetts manufacturers, his opportunity for securing data upon this subject was exceptional. Consequently, his statement was regarded as authoritative, and was eagerly used by the *Boston Herald* and other papers as sealing the case against the operatives.

In 1880, however, the Legislature authorized the Labor Bureau to investigate the subject, which it did, and gave the result in its report for 1881 (pp. 323-475), which showed the facts to be as follows:

STATE.	AVERAGE HOURS.	AVERAGE WAGES PER WEEK.
Maine.....	66 $\frac{1}{2}$	\$7 04
New Hampshire.....	66 $\frac{1}{2}$	7 44
Connecticut.....	65 $\frac{1}{2}$	7 81
Rhode Island.....	66	8 61
New York.....	65 $\frac{1}{2}$	7 57
Massachusetts.....	60	8 32

It will be seen that, instead of supporting Mr. Atkinson's statement, the facts directly contradict it. In Maine,

New Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode Island and New York the average working time was 65½ hours per week, and the average weekly wages \$7.67, while in Massachusetts, with only 60 hours a week, the average weekly wages were \$8.32. In other words, Massachusetts laborers were found to receive \$2.50 a month more wages while working two full days a month less than laborers in the other States. In view of such a record of error Mr. Atkinson can hardly be held to be a safe adviser in public affairs, and his advocacy of a radical change in our national industrial policy may well be regarded with extreme suspicion, and his statements and conclusions accepted only after close examination.

In his series of free trade articles he emphasizes three things, namely, the importance of establishing sound economic principle as the basis of discussion; the importance of fair, non-partisan treatment of the subject; and the economic interpretation of facts. These are indeed important conditions to economic controversy, and we shall consider Mr. Atkinson's treatment of the subject by the standard he himself has erected.

First, then, as to Mr. Atkinson's economic principle. Last winter, after corresponding with a number of leading public men upon the subject, Mr. Atkinson formulated the following as "*a principle of free trade*" (the italics are his own):

"A principle is '*a settled law or rule of action*.' The principle on which the nation is founded is that of liberty. The Constitution assures to every citizen the right of '*life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness*.' Liberty is '*the state of a free man*.' To be free is to be '*rid of that which confines, limits, embarrasses, oppresses and the like*.' '*Liberty in its broad sense is the right of one to use his faculties in all lawful ways, to live and work where he will, to earn his livelihood in any lawful calling, and to pursue any lawful trade or vocation*.' Trade is '*the act or business of exchanging commodities*.' Free trade is trade conducted without being subject to acts which '*confine, limit, embarrass or oppress*.' In the exercise

of free trade the citizen is entitled to true protection, which is '*preservation from loss, injury or annoyance*' in his undertaking to '*earn his livelihood in any lawful calling and to pursue any lawful vocation*'.

The citizen cannot be deprived of the right to free trade by any act which '*limits, embarrasses, or oppresses*' him, or by '*taxation except for a public purpose*', the Supreme Court having rendered a decision that '*to lay the (one) hand of the government upon the property of the citizen, and with the other bestow it upon favored individuals to aid private enterprises, is none the less robbery because it is done under the forms of law and is called taxation.*'"

This is a good illustration of Mr. Atkinson's method of reasoning. It will be observed that this formula is a compilation of dictionary definitions and legal decisions, and not a statement of economic principle at all. To say "the principle on which a nation is founded is that of liberty" is like saying the object of law is justice, which is to say nothing in particular. One might as well attempt to define the size of a table by saying it is as long as a piece of string, as to define a social principle by saying it is founded on liberty. Liberty is one of the vaguest words in our language. It means anything or nothing, according to the civilization and legal institutions of the time. In South America or Russia it means one thing, in Germany or Austria another, and in England and America it means something quite different.

"To be free," says Mr. Atkinson, "is to be rid of that which confines, limits, embarrasses, oppresses and the like." According to this there is no liberty in society, because all legislation is restrictive. Our whole police and judiciary system is but the legal machinery for enforcing limits, etc. To talk of freedom which denies the right of society to "confine" and "limit" is to talk only of the freedom of savagery, which is logical anarchy and the acme of absurdity. "In the exercise of free trade," he says, "the citizen is entitled to true protection, which is preservation from loss, injury or annoyance in his under-

taking to earn his livelihood in any lawful calling and to pursue any lawful vocation." Of course he is; and so he is under protection. The only difference between free trade and protection in this regard is that they define differently what constitutes "a lawful calling." Under free trade, to bring broadcloth and silk into a country without paying a duty would be "a lawful calling." Under protection that would be an "unlawful calling." But that is simply a matter of police regulation, and has no more to do with determining an economic principle than the Pope has with determining the law of gravitation.

He tells us that the Supreme Court has decided that "to lay one hand of the government upon the property of the citizen and with the other bestow it upon favored individuals to aid private enterprise is none the less robbery, because it is done under the forms of laws and is called taxation." As if a legal decision had any bearing on economic principle. What he quotes is a lawyer's absurdity, and not an economic statement at all. To talk of legal robbery is a contradiction in terms. Taxation may be unwise, unequal and unfair, but it is never robbery, because robbery is to take property in violation of law. Taxation is to take it by form of law, and is therefore always legal, though it may be foolish and injurious.

Nothing more surely indicates loose thinking and inexact statement than the use of such catch phrases as "liberty" and "justice" in a scientific definition, or quoting legal opinions as the basis of economic principle. A scientific principle expresses the operation of forces inherent in the nature of things. The definition of an economic principle, therefore, must be a statement of the operation of economic forces inherent in the constitution of society itself. Political institutions, on the contrary, are arbitrary regulations created by the conscious action of society, and the wisdom or unwisdom of these institutions depends entirely upon whether or no they are in harmony with economic principle. Therefore, to fail to distin-

guish between economic principle and legal decision and sentimental phrases is to be incapable of a scientific discussion of industrial and political problems.

Yet this seems to be exactly what Mr. Atkinson has done. Instead of seeking by scientific methods the economic principle in society, and making that the basis of legal machinery, he inverts the natural order and treats legal machinery as the basis of economic principle, which is sure to lead to confusion and error.

Our readers will remember that we called attention to this weakness in Mr. Atkinson's method of reasoning in our April number (pp. 383-4). To our surprise, Mr. Atkinson wrote inquiring where we obtained his definition, and doubting its correctness. In our May issue we informed him that we took his statement from the Boston *Herald*, and asked him to state squarely whether the report was correct or not, and if incorrect to please give his definition of a principle of free trade. Instead of either doing this or defending his position he wrote denying that it appeared in the Boston *Herald* at all, imputing that we had either invented or garbled the statement; and it was not until we procured a copy of the Boston *Herald*, January 19, 1892, containing his statement as quoted above, and also informed him that we had previously read it from another source over his own signature, that he acknowledged the authorship of it.

Why he should take such a course regarding his published utterances, especially a formal definition upon which he rests his whole argument, is difficult to understand, and we refer to it here only as showing a quality of character which may help to throw some light on his economic methods employed in the *Times* series of free trade articles, to which we shall give special consideration in our next issue.

Labor's Right of Free Speech.

It is simply astounding that there should recur, from time to time, in disputes between large employers of labor and those whom they employ, stubborn refusals to recognize labor organizations or their representatives as such. It looks like a truism to say that the right of labor to organize is generally conceded in this country, and yet such is not the case. For, since the great mass of the people are wage-workers, a general assent to such a claim does not prove that it is "conceded" at all, any more than the young man proved that he was going to be married when he said he had secured his own consent, and all he had still to do was to get the consent of the girl. In order to be called a "concession," the assent to the right of labor to organize must come from the side of capital as such. And capital, in at least two cases out of three where a direct issue is made, refuses to listen to labor organizations speaking for the employes, and calls their appearance as representatives "interference," or "dictation as to how we are to run our business."

Nor is there any doubt that in most such cases Mr. Incarnate Capital is perfectly sincere. He regards himself as to some extent a persecuted and injured mortal, and he wins a good deal of sympathy from superficial thinkers by the plausible case he presents in behalf of his theory that his inalienable rights as a business man are infringed, and that outsiders are attempting to dictate to him how he shall conduct his business. In fact, Mr. Incarnate Capital is entitled to a certain amount of respect for standing up for what he thinks are his rights. The blunder is intellectual, not moral. Mr. Incarnate Capital being, from his antecedents and his environment, a prejudiced conservative, a sort of American tory, as it were, does not think clearly about it all, and is mistaken. He has not yet taken

in the fundamental theory of free constitutional government that the rich and the poor are equal before the law; that in matters of natural right the common fact of manhood is related to the differentiating fact of wealth or poverty as an infinite quantity is to a finite, or as a finite quantity to an atom. Not only is "a man a man for all that," but his being a man means so much, as to his indestructible rights, that the accidents of wealth or poverty are not entitled to be counted against them, or to impair them at all.

It is a natural right of every man to be represented under any and all circumstances whatsoever by a spokesman or counsel of his own choosing. It makes no difference whether the circumstances are those of a court room or those of private arbitration, or those of a dispute held directly with an employer of labor. It is, in fact, impossible for any fair mind, looking at the question in the abstract, to conceive of any sort of a dispute between two parties in which either one of those parties has not the right to say to the other: "I am slow of speech. You are naturally smarter or better educated than I. In order to be on that plane of perfect equality with you where, and where alone, my rights in this matter can be measured against yours, I wish this other man, who is also smarter or better educated than I, to talk for me, to represent me, to be my counsel."

Is it not as clear as daylight that the right to choose one's counsel appertains to the chooser, and to the chooser alone? It is not expedient, of course, for him to choose counsel who is needlessly offensive to his antagonist, but that is another question. It does not affect his inalienable and exclusive right to control the choice. It is his counsel, and it is for him that the counsel is to speak. Fancy Mr. Incarnate Capital in court, or buying a piece of real estate through an agent who negotiates with the agent of the seller; fancy him opening his eyes in astonishment on receiving a note from the other party to the bargain, to this

effect: "Dear Sir: I will not recognize your counsel as your counsel, or your agent as your agent, no matter how indisputable his credentials. I must negotiate with you directly, and I positively will not permit any outsider to interfere with the transaction of my business. Yours, etc."

And he would have a right to open his eyes, and to open his mouth, too, in vehement protest. For it would be his business, and his alone, who his counsel was, and the opponent would be the "interfering" one, in trying to dictate to him how he should transact it, or be represented, if, in the exercise of his undoubted right, he chose not to talk for himself, but to have some one else talk for him.

This right is conceded as a matter of course to every one else but the laboring man as such—the laboring man, organized with other laboring men for the improvement of his standard of social life, and electing his industrial counsel by ballot. The employment of a member of the bar as counsel before courts of law is but one form of it. We saw another form of it when Mr. Carnegie left the Homestead works in the hands of Mr. Frick. We saw still another form of it when President Cleveland appointed Mr. Lamont to talk for him as private secretary, and when Mr. Harrison appointed Mr. Halford for the same purpose. We see still another form of it when the stockholders of a newly organized corporation elect a president whose principal business for some time is to be to commend the enterprise to the investing world. Who would think of denying the right of choice to any of these choosers?

This universal right, this right as perpetual as it is universal, and as absolute and unqualified as it is perpetual, ought to be clearly recognized as a thing standing on its merits, and not affected by any other incident to a labor dispute, no matter how prominent for the nonce that incident may be. A striking laborer does not forfeit it by shooting down armed guards or laborers who have come to take the place of the strikers. He may commit these murderous crimes, and yet as soon as he gets into court to

answer for them there is that same old right of being represented by counsel of his own choosing. He has not forfeited it, no matter what he has done. He cannot forfeit it, be he a Haymarket dynamite thrower or a Jack the Ripper. And yet we are told that an honest, law-abiding laboring man cannot claim as a right that which the lowest criminal claims and gets—the right of protecting himself against the superiority of the other party to the controversy, by choosing some better talker than he himself is to talk for him.

We hope we have made it plain enough that this right is not an incident to any artificial institution whatsoever; that it is as clearly recognized outside of courts and sworn members of the bar as inside that circle. But suppose it were not; suppose that only there were it conceded to be a man's right to be represented by counsel of his own choosing. Would that right be derived from the court? Did the court exist before man? Has the court any rights to confer, or any authority to confer them, except what it derives from man by man's consent? Courts and corporations, institutions and constitutions alike, are mere expressions of man's will, mere definitions of his intention as to the way in which he shall exercise certain of his rights. They are man's servants, not his masters. It is a most dangerous doctrine to liberty to claim that man has not a right that he seems to have, because he is not in a concrete, organized court, where it is guaranteed to him. For that is tantamount to claiming that he is presumed not to have a certain supposed right till that right is expressly conferred. The contrary is the true doctrine of freedom—that he has every right that can be imagined until some good reason can be found for his voluntarily surrendering that right, or consenting to restrictions in its exercise in the interest of equal rights for others. And so far as human relations are concerned, nothing short of the invasion of the rights of others can make it necessary to restrict his freedom. Even when it is restricted for cause, his

rights remain the same. A litigant in court whose counsel deprived his opponent of some of his rights would not, therefore, have to lose his right to be represented by counsel. That particular counsel might be disbarred, but the litigant would still be entitled to be represented. Similarly, if a walking delegate or a master workman has been overbearing or corrupt, or dictatorial towards a representative of capital, it may be natural for an irate capitalist to refuse to recognize organized labor in any way, but it is not right. The offensive representative is only an incident to, an abuse of the system. It is contrary to recognized principles of fairness to condemn the use because of the abuse.

The right of men to organize for their own interests is inherent in them as men, not as shareholders or wage-workers. The right of a man to delegate authority to speak for him is something that is inherent in him, whether he be engaged in a lawsuit or a labor dispute. It is high time there was a renaissance of clear thinking on this subject, and of definite appreciation of the essential character of this universal right of a principal to have an agent. Workingmen are, as a rule, vaguely conscious that they possess this right, and hence comes their added sense of being wronged when it is denied by a refusal to treat with their chosen representatives, or a tyrannical demand that they shall leave a labor organization entirely. If all parties to labor disputes were to understand the basis of reason and justice from which the agency of labor organizations takes its rise, the parties to any one dispute would be one step nearer together, with better chances of settling the temporary matters of issue directly on their merits. Details of application cannot impair the right of free speech itself, but they are too often allowed to prevent the enjoyment of that right, and thus to delay the adjustment of minor differences. For the sense of being wronged as one is wronged to whom a right is denied, inevitably pro-

vokes a reaction against the wrongdoer, and tempts to wrong retaliation.

Freedom of speech is a natural right. Society, in the interest of advancing civilization, may restrict the manner of exercising a natural right, but not its matter. Once touch the matter, and you deny the right itself. Once say to the man who is making a stand for the right of free speech, "not only shall you not exercise this right in such a manner as to incite to dynamite throwing, on the penalty of being held as an accessory, but you shall not even express your own wants and claims except so far as it is agreeable to us to hear them," and you have got beyond the body or manner to the very soul and life of free speech. You are limiting free speech itself.

If that which is the right preservative of all rights, the right of free speech, be itself invaded in its very essence, the grossest of all wrongs is done, because the most insidious and poisonous wrong of all. He who feels himself to be at a disadvantage in dealing with superior force, moral, intellectual, or material, is not free to express himself unless he can express himself according to the fullest measure of his knowledge of the need to be expressed. Now, if he is not capable of the measure of expression required, but is satisfied that another man, or a committee of men, can express what he wants expressed, and as he wants it expressed, his freedom of speech or expression requires that his preference, and his alone, should be regarded, as possessing the sole right to designate the medium of expression. To demand that he waive that right, and that he remain under the disadvantage of which he is conscious, the disadvantage of being "slow of speech," and "in bodily presence weak," while his chosen representative, being better equipped on labor questions, and more acute in mind and gifted in speech, could meet the other party to the controversy on terms more nearly approaching equality of mental and moral aggressiveness—to make this demand is to demand that might take the place of right.

Not to hear his cause, in the sense of not being willing to hear all that his best spokesman can say for it, is just as truly a substitution of might for right as it would be to shoot him down when he came in his person, before he could utter a word. For it is taking advantage of a deficiency. It is insisting upon an unfair race, in which one racer is free and the other is handicapped. The despondent friends of labor are sometimes heard to complain that organized labor does not distinguish between its right and might. But it will do so just as soon as capital, with its superior average education, shows itself capable of recognizing that distinction. Labor is accustomed to the use of might and force every day of its life, as the appointed means by which it gains a livelihood. It is supremely educated to regard material force as the material means to an end. Capital is educated by its very habits of life into a keener appreciation of moral forces, and it is for that reason under a higher obligation to teach by example, as well as intelligent definition, the principle that might is not right. But when it cants on Sunday and cheats on Monday by robbing labor of its right to free speech, thus availing itself of its superior might of intelligence, it is sowing the seed of wind for a destructive harvest of whirlwind.

KEMPER BOCOCK.

Should Voting be Compulsory?

The duty of the citizen in the matter of exercising the right of suffrage is so perfectly plain and simple that we may leave the question of patriotism entirely out of the discussion, and consider the subject from a purely practical point of view, and thereby reach a practical conclusion.

The only successful and permanent form of popular government by the people is, and of necessity must be, by securing a constant and intelligent consideration on the part of the citizen of all matters which pertain to the state and its affairs. Eternal vigilance as the price of national safety of necessity means a constant and vigilant attention to the affairs of the state on the part of the people.

The history of our country, the principles of our government, the theories which lie at the root of the national tree, are, in view of this necessary principle, taught in our schools and colleges for the proper purpose of educating future citizens in their duty. The enactment of just laws is conceded to be one of the most important, if not the most important part of the machinery of the state. The honest and faithful administration, execution and interpretation of the laws, after the same have been enacted, are matters of equally vital importance to the state and its citizens.

It is therefore an axiom, that unless good laws are honestly and efficiently administered they utterly fail in their beneficial effects. We do not need the literature of good and healthy laws placed upon our statute books merely for the purpose of exhibiting to the world at large our capability to conceive wise, salutary and beneficent pieces of legislation.

Very much is constantly being said nowadays, and especially in this country, concerning the laws, the law-makers and the public officials. Many political pessimists claim that we have too much law, and that of a very poor

quality; that our legislation is too often incongruous, vexatious and chimerical; that our laws are mainly conceived in the interest of parties and partisans, or of monstrous monopolies and dangerous combinations; and that our office-holders are, as a rule, venal, corrupt and inefficient.

Many a panacea is from time to time offered as a cure for these ailments by zealous and patriotic citizens, who would secure reform in the administration of our government by adopting various measures and applying remedies which oftentimes are as absurd and impracticable as the evils against which they are directed are onerous, dangerous and serious.

But one complaint has been made in this country by many thoughtful men during the past few decades, and to the cause for said complaining is ascribed many of the political ills which undoubtedly do exist and from which we are patiently suffering.

This cause appears to have a very broad and palpable foundation of truth to support the charge of its existence. It is the exceedingly grave one that too many of our most intelligent citizens do not, as a rule, and especially in the larger American cities, exercise the right of suffrage. Let us take the City of New York, for instance—and that city is probably in its way as good an American example in such respect as may be found—and we discover the painful fact that only about 232,000 of her electors exercised the right of suffrage at the last State election.

A careful analysis of the various statistics within command establishes the fact that New York City now contains a qualified voting population of over three hundred thousand voters, and this estimate appears to be a most moderate and low one.

Making all possible and reasonable allowances for sickness, and for other causes of paramount importance which would naturally operate to prevent a certain percentage of the voters from registering and visiting the

polls on election day, the fact yet remains that at least fifty thousand citizens of the City of New York who could be and are legally qualified voters failed to exercise the supreme right of their citizenship at the last election by omitting to exercise the right of suffrage.

Is it necessary to insinuate that among this army of absentees it is doubtful if one hundred were professional politicians, as the term has come to be recognized and well understood in this country, and that fully fifty thousand, if not over that number, were intelligent citizens who were deterred from registering and voting either by reason of a stolid indifference or in fear of being drawn for jury duty or compelled to pay personal taxes?

And it is not a matter of the merest supererogation to assert that the right to vote on the part of the citizen is morally correlative with his duty to vote? We fail to perceive any palpable or material difference in this duty from the duty of serving on the jury, paying taxes, or, if physically able, to bear arms in case of insurrection or invasion.

Every member of a civilized community assumes certain duties and obligations which he is bound to discharge. It is the price he must pay for the privilege of enjoying the rights, benefits and advantages of living in a civilized community and receiving the protection of a civilized form of government.

And as the interest which each citizen takes in the welfare and proper administration of the affairs of the community in which he dwells is greater or smaller, in the same proportion will the cause of good government in that community be aided or retarded in attaining its most efficient growth.

Let us put the question involved herein in another form. Suppose an amendment to the Constitution of the State should be introduced in its legislature in effect depriving a certain number of our citizens of the right to vote, those citizens being now qualified to exercise that right. What a cyclone of popular indignation would at

once be aroused? The measure would by the force of public opinion be swept out of sight in a day, and we venture to mildly suggest that the most violent opposition against the enactment of such a law or amendment would come in greater part from that most refined, cultured and literate class of our voting population which to so large an extent assists in recruiting the ranks of this great army of absentees.

It is tiresome and a great bore to hear the average good citizen complain of the rottenness of American politics, of the inefficiency of our laws, and of the corruption and ignorance of our law-makers and public officials, when that same average good citizen keeps most religiously away from the primaries, and fails to register and go to the polls on election day to help put honest, capable and efficient men in office, and keep the rascals or incompetents out of the public service.

There is no question, there can be no question of the fact, and it is a stubborn one, that the vote of these absentees, which apparently requires the incentive of a Tweed ring to bring out in revolution or tidal wave proportions, could at any and all times dictate to the political parties and their bosses the persons who are to serve the state in the capacity of law-makers or executors of the law. If we suffer the evils complained of in the stated directions, then we suffer sorely because of the absence of the average good citizen from the polls. I would make this absenteeism odious. I believe any so-called ballot reform is vain and futile which does not go to the full extent of making the act of registering and voting a compulsory duty on the part of each and every citizen.

It may be urged against this proposition, that you may lead a horse to water, but you can't make it drink. Very true. But if that horse were only led to water once a year, the probabilities are that it *would* drink.

The only real and satisfactory cure for the many political evils against which complaint is made, is in a com-

pulsory ballot system. Give every voter a credit cheque when he votes; collect that cheque within twenty-four hours after election, and warn the qualified voter who is without one on his first offense; fine him twenty-five dollars on his second offense; increase the fine to \$100 on his third offense; and should he offend again, deprive him by the sentence of a proper court from ever after exercising the right of suffrage. Brand him as a derelict, a traitor, and a man who is devoid of all sense of the obligation and duty he owes his country and the community in which he lives.

Of course sickness and necessary absence from the city, proven in a legal manner, should be a valid excuse. Tuxedo or the races should not. Other valid and sufficient reasons submitted to the judge appointed to pass on these excuses could be considered and in his discretion allowed; but the grand point to be achieved by the adoption of this system would be to make willful absenteeism from the polls obnoxious and unlawful; and, to be perfectly plain and practical, we would in short *give the derelict citizen more trouble for not voting than the trouble to register and vote would cost him.*

The tendency of our modern civilization has sanctioned and approved of the enactment of laws making education compulsory. No one for a moment dares question the soundness and wisdom of such a policy on the part of the state. Its purposes and benefits are obvious.

If it is a good policy on the part of the state to see to it that her citizens do not grow up ignorant and illiterate, what argument can successfully contravene the principle that the state has the right to exact from her citizens the performance of their duties and moral obligations as citizens? There is nothing involved or unconstitutional in this proposition. There is nothing subversive of freedom or restrictive of liberty contained in it. It only asks from the citizen that he shall do his duty, as such, or, if the boon of citizenship be worthless to him, then to entirely and forever

renounce the suffrage part of it. And even in case there should be any constitutional doubt as to the power of the legislature to regulate the right of suffrage in the manner herein indicated, then submit the necessary constitutional amendment to the people and you will find a unanimous vote in favor of it.

It is somewhat of a pity that the glorious rights of American citizenship should not be considered so valuable a possession by every American as to require compulsory action to compel the discharge of so simple, albeit so important a duty. But the sentiment must give way to the fact; and the fact is that the only cure for the political evils complained of will be found in making absenteeism from the polls an odious thing, unworthy of the American citizen, and most fitly denounced and punished as a crime against the state.

In conclusion, as you make the poor, unkempt citizen wash himself and his rooms in the interest of the public health; as you by compulsion vaccinate, fumigate and even isolate the citizen and enter his castle if he refuses to take care of these important matters voluntarily; so, if the personal liberty and freedom of individual action can be thus controlled for the public safety and the public good, and it is so controlled constitutionally and of necessity; then, and upon the very same principle of conserving the public good, would we compel the derelict citizen to do his duty as a citizen in the most important direction of exercising the right of suffrage, for in this particular the right and the duty are correlative terms.

MORRIS S. WISE.

Mr. Wise, in advocating compulsory voting, raises the old question of Talitus, "who shall guard the guards?" All who are interested in public welfare will share his regret that so many well-to-do people exhibit political indifference; but we cannot agree with Mr. Wise that the

remedy for this is to pass a law compelling them to vote. It is a fair inference that any one who is indifferent to a subject is not intelligent upon that subject. Whatever a man's education or social standing may be, if he is not interested in political matters he will not be an intelligent voter, because he will be ill-informed on the very things he has to vote upon. Only those who are interested vote intelligently, and people are never indifferent upon the subjects of which they are well informed. The difficulty with our political situation to-day is not that too few votes are cast, but that too many votes are cast that represent ignorance of the economic and political principles upon which our institutions rest. A much smaller vote, if it were well informed, would be far better than a larger one ill-informed.

So obvious is the evil of ignorant voting that more stringent naturalization laws are being demanded because too many of our foreign-born citizens vote ignorantly. It is to remedy this that the Australian ballot system has been adopted in so many States. If secret voting will eliminate the ignorant, illiterate voters, and indifference eliminate the politically-ignorant, cultured voters, our political machinery is in no imminent danger, since those who do not vote will have to be governed by those who do, and the community is sure to be governed by the more competent citizens. We regard compulsory voting as a step in the wrong direction. Political power should never be forced upon any class. Nobody is entitled to the franchise who does not show his fitness by at least desiring to use it, and if for any reason individuals acquire the right of suffrage who are uninterested in public affairs, it is an advantage to the community that they do not use it. Rather than make voting compulsory, we should prefer a law of disfranchisement, making all who failed to vote at three successive elections political aliens, the right of franchise to be thereafter acquired only by the usual process of naturalization.—[Ed.]

Corporation Profits.

Among the resolutions adopted at Homestead by the Labor Union is one which is reported to read: "*Resolved*, that we re-affirm the declaration that labor creates all wealth; that wealth belongs to its producers, and that therefore the mills and other property now in the possession of the Carnegie Company is the rightful property of the workingmen of Pennsylvania, who produced it." This statement would seem too absurd to require attention, were it not for the fact that a large part of the community seem to believe that there is at least some truth in it. We read in nearly every newspaper and quite every magazine some statement of the alleged wrongs of labor or of laboring men, both being confined to the wage-earning class. That there is a feeling, not only among them, but among others, that these wrongs exist, that the hand workers do not receive their fair share of production, there can be no doubt. Neither is there any doubt in the minds of some of those who take time to study the question, that such wrongs, if they exist at all, are not more common than wrongs that other classes suffer. It is time for that opinion to be expressed and the reasons for it to be given, so that they may be fairly considered.

Premising, I will say that this paper is not written with the view that each man ought to "give to society according to his ability, and receive according to his needs." That involves *giving* on the one side and *receiving* on the other, generosity and pauperism, rather than justice. The writer's view is that abstract justice would give each man an equivalent for what he produces, and that, in a rough way, that is now attained under the present organization of industry. Individual exceptions may exist; but as to classes, the so-called laborers have nothing to complain of in the present distribution of what is produced.

Returning to the resolution, the statement in the present tense that labor *produces* all wealth is false, especially when defining labor as hand labor, as it is meant to be understood in the resolution. Wealth is produced by labor, in connection with the use of capital, and under the direction of enterprise and ability. All these factors are necessary to the production of wealth on a large scale, and neither has the right to claim that the production is due to itself alone.

Taking the second statement, that wealth belongs to its producers, it must be modified by the fact that property cannot belong to anyone after he has exchanged it for something else. If I raise fifty bushels of wheat and exchange them for a suit of clothes, both the wheat and the clothes cannot belong to me after the exchange is made. If a carpenter builds me a house, and I pay him the sum agreed upon, the house cannot belong to him after I have paid him the money for it.

Taking the third statement, that the mills of the Carnegie Company belong to the workingmen of the State of Pennsylvania; that is wilder than either of the others. Only a small fraction of the workingmen of Pennsylvania either assisted in building the Carnegie mills and machinery or have been employed in connection with them; and what right, in any absurd view, have any others in that property?

Let us now narrow the question to those who built, or have been employed in the mills. Those who built them were paid for their labor as agreed. What further claim have they? The mills were built before anyone could be employed in them, so that, even if producers had a residuary claim in their own production, those who did not pay for or build the mills or machinery can have no property in them. All this seems so plain as to be hardly worth stating; and those who passed this resolution probably do not believe it literally. The real feeling at bottom is that as production is now carried on the laborer does not receive

his fair share of it, and hence that even if he receives an agreed recompense he is not fully paid.

Let us examine this proposition, and to shorten the investigation let us confine it to manufacturing industries, as it is in these that such questions most frequently arise. Professional men, whatever they may think themselves, are supposed by the laborers to be enormously overpaid, and they generally fix the price of their own service, leaving it to be taken or left. The farmer has what he produces, whether he can sell it as he desires or not, and the farm laborer in New England, at least, if given the use of the larger part of our land, and all he could raise on it, would very likely be worse off than he is now. Such is certainly the case as far as amateur farming is concerned.

Coming now to the manufacturer. He buys his raw material, pays his labor and general expenses of all kinds, including depreciation of plant, either supervises himself or pays for supervision, and takes all the losses and risks of business. He is generally supposed to be entitled to interest on his capital, to payment for supervision, and to compensation for extra risk run. Let us consider these items separately. If any capital should earn interest, that engaged in manufactures has an equal claim at the market rate. If this claim should be denied, or no capital is entitled to interest, the inducement for investing it would be destroyed, and production on a large scale, with all its economies, would soon stop. The laborers would suffer a loss vastly greater from this than the amount of interest now received by employers. But it is scarcely necessary to discuss the question of the abolition of interest. Many of those who write so glibly of the wrongs of the laboring men would be more glib on the other side if their own rents and dividends were in danger.

Payment for supervision, either to the employer direct or to a manager hired by him, is another necessity of carrying on business. Even the authors of this resolution would probably agree to this, but they might say, as I have heard

men say, that such service should be paid no more than that of the average mechanic. So long, however, as more brains and skill are exercised in supervision than in shoveling gravel, so long an employer will pay more for them, and his payment shows that he considers them more valuable. The salaries of managers have found their proper level in competition, and if an owner does his own supervising he is entitled to a supervisor's pay.

Again, as to risk. There would seem to be no doubt that money invested in a risky business is entitled to somewhat greater income than that invested in real estate mortgages or savings banks. Now, it is possible to ascertain the income of money invested in manufacturing corporations from printed statistics, accessible to all. This element of the pay of management does not enter into the calculation so far as these stocks are concerned, but the elements of interest and risk remains. From what the manufacturer produces he pays for his material, his labor, his general expense (largely labor), and takes his profits. His material he buys at the market price, and the same is true of the items of general expense, outside of labor. Payment for labor and interest, or profit, remains. Now, if on the average the income of money invested in manufacturing stocks is enough above the ordinary rate of interest to more than compensate for the risks of the business, labor, which has the balance, may have some excuse in complaining of the division; if not, there is no ground for talking of labor's wrongs in the distribution of products.

I have made some investigations as to the dividends paid by manufacturing stocks in the State of Massachusetts for the past ten years, with results which will doubtless surprise many. Mr. Joseph G. Martin of Boston has issued annually a statement of fluctuations in bank, insurance, railroad, manufacturing, and other stocks and bonds, together with the dividends paid by each. In his manufacturing lists he has also included the Fall River manufacturing companies. From those lists I have taken every Massa-

chusetts company mentioned in 1882 for which figures are given for ten years. The list follows, and comprises sixty-five companies in various kinds of business, including the cotton and woolen manufacture, bleacheries, belting and machinery. Of these sixty-five companies, forty-one mentioned immediately below have maintained the same capital during the ten years from 1882 to 1892:

Appleton.	Boott.	Tremont & Suffolk.	Thorndike.
Boston.	Boston Belting.	Chace Mills.	Crescent.
Boston Duck.	Chicopee.	Fall River M'f'y.	Granite Mills.
Dwight.	Flint Mill.	King Philip.	Laurel Lake.
Hamilton Cotton.	Lancaster.	Mechanics.	Merchants.
Lawrence.	Lowell.	Metacomet.	Narragansett.
Lowell Machine.	Lyman.	Pocasset.	Richard Borden.
Massachusetts.	Merrimack.	Robeson.	Shove.
Middlesex.	Naumkeag.	Slade.	Tecumseh.
Otis.	Pacific.	Troy Cotton Mill.	Union Cotton.
		Weetamoe Mills.	

The five following have stopped during the ten years: Annawan Mills, Fall River Merino, Montaup, Quequechan, and the Sandwich Glass Company. The seven following have had their capital impaired and replaced during the ten years: Atlantic Mills, Everett Mills, Hamilton Woolen Mills, Lowell Bleachery, Washington Mills, Davol Mills, and the Sagamore Mills. The twelve named below have increased their capital during the ten years:

Arlington Mills.	American Linen Co.	Barnard M'f'g Co.
Border City M'f'g Co.	Barnaby M'f'g Co.	Conanicut Mills.
Crystal Spring Bleach & Dye Co.	Fall River Bleachery.	Globe Yarn Mills.
Osborn Mills.	Stafford Mills.	Wampanoag Mills.

In making my calculations I have divided the companies into two groups: First, the forty-one that have gone through the ten years with unchanged capital, and second, the twenty-four that have been unfortunate or put in additional capital during the same time. I have also made a calculation, by combining these two sets of figures, to show what amount of interest on investment a man would have made who had bought the stock of all these companies on the first of January, 1882, and sold them on

the first of January, 1892, meantime paying in all the money that was paid in, and receiving all the dividends that were declared. The results for the forty-one companies with unchanged capital appear below:

LIST OF COMPANIES WHOSE CAPITAL HAS NOT CHANGED DURING THE TEN YEARS FROM 1882 TO 1892.

	PAR VALUE.	MARKET VALUE JAN. 1, 1882.	MARKET VALUE JAN. 1, 1892.	TEN YEARS DIVIDENDS.
Appleton.....	\$600,000	\$717,000	\$345,000	\$138,000
Boott.....	1,200,000	2,580,000	1,620,000	924,000
Boston.....	800,000	1,060,000	848,000	520,000
Boston Belting.....	700,000	1,225,000	1,422,750	749,000
Boston Duck.....	350,000	525,000	562,500	325,500
Chicopee.....	1,000,000	1,900,000	900,000	600,000
Dwight.....	1,200,000	1,920,000	1,800,000	1,068,000
Flint Mill.....	580,000	406,000	609,000	342,200
Hamilton Cotton.....	1,800,000	2,196,000	1,800,000	648,000
Lancaster.....	1,200,000	2,700,000	1,866,000	1,020,000
Lawrence.....	1,500,000	2,700,000	2,250,000	1,365,000
Lowell.....	2,000,000	2,101,775	1,833,333	803,023
Lowell Machine.....	900,000	2,277,000	1,305,000	810,000
Lyman.....	1,470,000	1,719,900	970,200	558,600
Massachusetts.....	1,800,000	2,520,000	1,890,000	1,026,000
Merrimack.....	2,500,000	4,600,000	2,625,000	1,600,000
Middlesex.....	750,000	1,875,000	975,000	765,000
Naumkeag.....	1,500,000	1,890,000	1,590,000	802,500
Otis.....	800,000	1,040,000	1,480,000	800,000
Pacific.....	2,500,000	4,750,000	4,187,500	2,125,000
Tremont & Suffolk.....	1,200,000	2,103,000	1,464,000	738,000
Thorndike.....	450,000	495,000	540,000	342,000
Chace Mills.....	500,000	535,000	500,000	285,000
Crescent Mills.....	500,000	400,000	175,000	167,500
Fall River M'Fry.....	180,000	315,000	216,000	59,400
Granite Mills.....	400,000	1,310,800	960,000	612,000
King Philip.....	1,000,000	1,200,000	1,150,000	490,000
Laurel Lake.....	400,000	376,000	448,000	216,000
Mechanics.....	750,000	862,500	637,500	397,500
Merchants.....	800,000	1,000,000	960,000	480,000
Metacomet.....	288,000	288,000	201,600	44,640
Narragansett.....	400,000	400,000	388,000	230,000
Pocasset.....	800,000	480,000	1,088,000	264,000
Richard Borden.....	800,000	680,000	780,000	368,000
Robeson.....	260,000	234,000	221,000	105,300
Shove.....	550,000	577,500	632,500	294,250
Slade.....	550,000	495,000	330,000	178,750
Tecumseh.....	500,000	660,000	512,500	322,500
Troy Cotton Mill.....	300,000	540,000	585,000	300,000
Union Cotton.....	750,000	1,374,375	1,575,000	1,357,500
Weetamoe.....	550,000	467,500	247,500	178,750
	\$37,078,000	\$55,496,350	\$44,490,883	\$24,420,913

I find the total dividends, \$24,420,913 for ten years (which would be an average dividend of \$2,442,091.13 per year), to be 6.58 per cent. per annum of the par value of the stocks of the above companies. I also find the above annual dividend to be 4.88 per cent. of the average selling price for 1882 and 1892, which is \$49,993,616. I also find that, taking the price at which the stocks could be bought January 1, 1882, which was \$55,496,350, and the price at which the stocks could be sold January 1, 1892, which was \$44,490,883, there is a loss in the selling value during the ten years of \$11,005,467. Deducting this from the total amount of dividends, \$24,420,913, we have left \$13,415,-446, as the net income for the ten years from 1882 to 1892, which would figure 2.68 per cent. as the net income per year.

We will next consider the figures of the twenty-four companies above named whose capital was changed, or whose enterprises were stopped during the ten years:

Their total par value Jan. 1, 1882, was.....	\$11,800,000
Their total par value Jan. 1, 1892, was	14,875,000
Or an average par value for the time of.....	13,337,500
The amount of dividends paid on these stocks for ten years was..	6,718,250
The amount paid in was.....	6,135,000
Leaving an excess of dividends over capital paid in of.....	584,250

for the ten years, or \$58,425 per annum, or less than half of 1 per cent., on the capital stock, and still less than that on the average selling price. Ascertaining the loss or difference between the selling price of these companies Jan. 1, 1882, \$14,828,375, and the selling price Jan. 1, 1892, \$14,111,000, we find it to be \$717,375. Deduct from that the margin of dividends above payments, \$584,250, and it will appear that these 24 companies lost \$133,125, besides interest on their capital for ten years.

Now, combining the two sets of figures, we find:

That the 65 companies had an average capital for the ten years of	\$50,415,500
That the selling price of the stocks Jan. 1, 1882, was.....	70,324,725
That the selling price Jan. 1, 1892, was	58,601,883
That the total dividends paid amounted to.....	31,140,163
That the amount of cash paid in was.....	6,135,000

Deducting the cash paid in from the dividends leaves \$25,005,163 net cash received by stockholders, or an average of \$2,500,516 per annum. This is equal to 4.86 per cent. on the capital stock. The average selling price ascertained as before was \$64,463,304. On this sum the average dividend was 3.87 per cent. The loss in value of all the stock for the ten years was \$11,722,842. Deducting this from the dividend leaves \$13,282,321, or 2.06 per cent. on the average value of the capital invested.

The change in value of the manufacturing stocks may, of course, be said to depend in part upon the years selected. If the selection of one year was during a particularly prosperous time, and the selection of the other year was during a panic, differences would appear which would not be normal. So far as general business is concerned, however, the year 1892 is reckoned as good as the year 1882, and the comparison of those two years would in that view seem to be a fair one. Such of these stocks as appear in Martin's Report for 1881 average even higher than they did in 1882, and in 1880 somewhat lower, but not nearly as low as in later years. On the other hand, there was a continuous and large decrease of value in these stocks, amounting to substantially 20 per cent., between 1882 and 1886, and a moderate increase, amounting to about 5 per cent., on the remaining value since that time.

It is evident from these figures of selling price at different periods that these corporations, as a whole, have been paying out in dividends more money than they have earned during the past ten years, proper depreciation being taken into account. As the average dividend paid, saying nothing about loss of selling value, was 3.87 per cent., it looks as though either these great corporations have been particularly unfortunate during the last ten years, or that the laborer has had more, rather than less, than his share of production, so far as these industries are concerned.

I have taken the average of industries, successful and otherwise, because with material at standard prices and

labor at standard rates the average results should be considered rather than those exceptionally favorable or unfavorable. If one concern succeeds better than another in the same business that difference is due to and earned by the *management* of that concern. If in the same town, in the same business, one company makes continuously ten per cent., and another firm five, the extra five per cent. is due to some qualities in the direction, and not due to the laborers, who are continually changed while the same results continue.

The fact is that labor in America, by its increasing intelligence and organization, has to-day, however it may have been in the past, secured its full share of production, if not more than its share. Further increase of its share, under present conditions, cannot be made without endangering the life of the goose that lays the golden eggs. If labor organizations could secure *all* the profits of business, business could not be done except by them; and capital and competent supervision would not be furnished for them gratis. A little less declamation and more study of facts would do much to allay the irritation that threatens to injure society, and the so-called laboring class the most of any.

WILLIAM F. DRAPER.

Extension of the Public School System.

We advocated the extension of our public school system in the direction of kindergartens in our July number. We now wish to advocate its extension at the other end to keep charge of the scholar during the earlier years of his introduction into active life. A fault of our present method is that it ceases abruptly and too soon, and at a stage where its usefulness might be much increased if continued. And what we have in mind to propose is that the half-time work hours to which the youth is limited by law should be combined with half-time school hours, so that the one should be conditioned on the other; that is, that the youth should not be allowed to appear on the half-time pay roll of the factory unless his record shows him to have attended the legal time at school each day. This would make it the interest of parents and pupil alike to make sure of attendance at school, since otherwise the child would not be allowed to earn anything towards his own support. This would put a pressure upon his school record which would make him far more careful to see that it be good, than he was before he began his half-time work, and as he is also more mature he is capable of appreciating the instruction the more deeply. Besides, this combination is precisely of that admixture of practical and theoretical education which combines all the best features of any educational scheme. It keeps both body and mind active at once, making the body a readier vehicle for improvement and intelligence.

Mechanical schools have often been advocated, indeed, on their own account, and as furnishing a training far more adapted to usefulness than any existing curriculum, but the expense attending a mechanical outfit of shops, machinery, teachers and the like is such as to deter even the stoutest advocates of useful education from a serious movement for establishing them. The amount of ground,

the variety of tools, the different teachers, the individual attention necessary to each scholar, all these and many other objections are quite fatal to the idea of a public provision so extensive as to meet the needs of the desired mechanical instruction. Besides that, such institutions would always be behind hand in the style of their machinery, not being able to use the latest and most expensive inventions. But these are far more likely to be found in good shops, being forced into them by the fact that unless they are adopted such shops begin to lose money, and therefore they cannot afford to be behind the times. Half-time workers would therefore be always employed at the newest and best machineries.

Here then we could secure, as we said, that combination of theoretical training and practical application which has been so long an object of desire to all reformers of educational methods. And this combination would be secured also with two marked and important advantages. The first is, that it would not only not cost the state anything, but would be a source of profit both to the state and to the children. They would be producing something which would so far increase public wealth, and producing it at a profit to themselves, which would stimulate and encourage their devotion to it. Here we secure the maximum of incentive, the maximum of method and the least cost.

And the second advantage is that the children would be doing actual work of the world on the world's own customary terms, namely, that the thing produced should be good enough to be salable and sell in the markets. This is a sure preventive of the slip-shod and dilettante style of doing things which is the constant result and common bane of mere amateur and make-believe production, where mechanics are used merely for practice and instruction. The zeal, thoroughness and watchfulness which private enterprises demand of their prosecutors would thus attach itself to the liberal instruction of the public school as an indispensable adjunct the one of the other, and the nation would be the

gainer both in the character and in the production of the individuals trained under such advantages.

The public could thus secure a prolonged direction of its youth at a most critical time of life, when they are emerging into manhood and womanhood. It could see that vicious idleness was discouraged, and the growing citizen directed along the lines where lay the greatest usefulness and the utmost happiness as well. If to this oversight were also added a new and more stimulating spirit and interest in its own training, if the young man and woman could be led to see in all this apparatus of education the anxious and thoughtful care of the state for their future welfare, it is hardly doubtful that a finer and nobler spirit could be fostered in all the rising generations, a spirit of affectionate regard for the state which does so much to make its citizens valuable to themselves and their country. Here then we could develop both the private interest and public life of the youth at once, the factory knitting him to the individualism, which is the source of the greatest human power, and the school binding him to the Republic, which is the source of his greatest opportunity and enjoyment.

We issue here into the region of those ideas which ideal philosophers have always advocated as the great desideratum of human training, but we come by a road at once practicable and already open. We get into it through combining public and private discipline, through fitting the child to make a living in circumstances and teaching which also fit him to make the living a good one and enjoyable to him when made. We issue into a true socialism which is to do for the individual collectively only what he cannot do for himself. And so we preserve both his personal independence, self-reliance and self-direction, while at the same time we provide an environment which shall bring these qualities to their greatest development and their largest field of usefulness.

A system of half-time schooling is especially important in this country, in view of the fact that such a large

part of our laboring population is of foreign birth or parentage, and is to a great extent out of touch with our social and political institutions, and these are they who are most eager to hustle the child out of the schoolroom into the factory at the earliest possible age. Under the three months' schooling method which prevails in most of our manufacturing states this is very easily done, because of the difficulty of keeping track of each child's attendance at school for that short period in the year.

The half-time system would prevent this because it directly couples the schooling with the opportunity to work by making them alternate each day. Besides making an evasion of the school law practically impossible, it would bring the children of our entire foreign population in daily contact with school life for seven or eight years. In a single decade this would insure that every laborer of twenty years of age who was either born in this country or learned to work here would be able to read and write in our language and have some knowledge of the history and spirit of our institutions. And by this continuous contact with the social influence of school life something of our habits and civilization would daily find its way into their homes through the influence of the children. In other words, the child would become the medium through which the cultivating influence of American institutions would be automatically infused into the life and character of our immigrant population, to the great advantage of the Republic. Its heterogeneous population would be rapidly conformed to the type desirable for those who have the welfare of democratic institutions in charge.

The Industrial Situation.

If anything were lacking in the Homestead affair to demonstrate the social danger of the misconception entertained by both laborers and capitalists regarding their economic relations, it has been supplied by the Buffalo strike. It is useless to any longer pretend that this crisis has any relation to party politics. Those who attempt to treat the matter as the outcome of Protection, or as having any necessary relation to our international policy, are simply helping to confuse public opinion upon the subject for the purpose of temporary party advantage. It is solely an industrial affair, and can be solved only by economic methods.

Nor is there anything in the situation at either Homestead or Buffalo which might not have been easily adjusted if the economics of the case were understood. The presence of soldiers as the arbiters of industrial controversy, like bonfires in religious discussion, are an evidence of barbarism. It is undoubtedly true that soldiers are often called out more to overawe strikers than to protect property, but it is also true that an excuse for this is furnished by the proneness of laborers to resort to force. Workmen might as well recognize first as last that to raise their hands against property is to strike a fatal blow to their own cause. The community will not and should not tolerate anybody who disregards the rights of property. There may be an explanation, but there can never be an economic defense of physical force adjustments of industrial relations. To destroy a railroad or a factory is to impoverish not merely its individual owner, but the whole community. These are the tools by which civilized society gets all the advantages it enjoys over a savage tribe. Property is the very basis of social welfare, and whatever endangers its safety undermines the security of civilization itself.

The truth is that economic ignorance is at the bottom of the whole trouble; and it is difficult to say on which side it is most dense. The great mass of laborers in this country as sincerely believe that capitalists are their natural enemies, and that a man cannot honestly obtain a million dollars, as do the most ignorant laborers of Europe; and on the other hand, with a few exceptions our capitalists persistently regard laborers as only instruments of production to be obtained cheaply, as do those in old monarchical countries. In fact, they no more recognize the economic importance of the laborers' social improvement than did English manufacturers in the first quarter of the century. Perhaps this is not so surprising after all when we remember that their notions of economics are substantially the same. The idea that long hours and low wages contribute to the possibility of making profits seems as prevalent to-day as when Ricardo announced the famous doctrine "that profits must fall with a rise of wages."

This naturally leads to the notion among laborers that an injury to capital is a help to labor, and among capitalists to the notion that to repress laborers is to help capital. Such a state of mutual antagonism, invoking riot on the one side and militarism on the other, might be expected among the ignorant masses and semi-feudal capitalists of Continental Europe, but such methods in this country are a disgrace to the Republic and a stigma upon our civilization. While there can be no defense for the lawless conduct of laborers who, either with or without the sanction of their leaders, violate law and jeopardize property, it must be remembered that their opportunities for obtaining an intelligent understanding of industrial and social interests have been very limited. Their character and social conceptions to a large extent have been formed by Old World conditions. They have either been attracted here because of our better conditions or have been imported by our employers because of their cheapness. Instead of trying to increase the opportunities for transforming them into intel-

ligent citizens as rapidly as possible, our capitalists seem to do their utmost to prevent their social improvement by arraying themselves against every effort laborers make in their own behalf. As unions are the most effectual means of social improvement at the laborers' command, they are made the special object of attack, in the evident belief that by breaking up the unions they can more easily repress laborers' demands.

Now all this simply confirms the belief among workmen and among an increasing class of their sympathizers that capitalists are in fact as well as in name the literal enemies of laborers. In this way capitalists are doing more to stimulate the growth of socialism than all the writings of socialists and anarchists could ever accomplish. They seem to forget that every one of these laborers has a vote, which counts as much in determining our laws and institutions as does their own. If they persist in their efforts to prevent workmen from having the same rights to organize and act collectively that they themselves enjoy, they may soon find themselves handicapped by a network of socialistic legislation which may result in government ownership of railroads and other large industries.

Nor is there any doubt that either of the great political parties would adopt sweeping socialistic measures if it thought it could be elected and sustained in power by so doing. The speech of Senator Palmer in Congress and the recent remarks of Mr. Cleveland at Madison Square Garden regarding the Homestead matter show how ready politicians are to cater to the preverted ideas of the masses for political success.

Iron masters and railroad presidents might as well recognize first as last that they are not above society in this country. As capitalists the continuance of their prosperity and influence must depend upon their usefulness to the community, and just so soon as the public are convinced that they are using their power against public welfare it will find means to do without them.

It will be observed that in the Buffalo strike, as in the Homestead, the question at issue was one of wages. At Homestead it was opposition to a reduction; at Buffalo it was a demand for a slight increase.

According to President McLeod's statement of the case it appears that the wages of railroad laborers from Buffalo West are higher than they are from Buffalo East, the reason he gives being that the cost of living is higher in the West than in the East. The working time is eleven hours per day. The Eastern men ask for a reduction to ten hours and an increase of two cents an hour in wages. It will hardly be contended at this late day that a demand for a ten-hour system is very unreasonable. Indeed, it is doubtful if any specialized industry has any economic claims to consideration which cannot succeed without forcing its laborers to work more than ten hours a day.

Nor can a request for twenty-seven cents an hour for night work and twenty-six cents an hour for day work be regarded as extravagant for American laborers. The position of switchman is a very responsible one. A slight mistake by a switchman may jeopardize the lives of hundreds of people any moment. It is of the utmost importance to the public that such critical positions should not be filled by overworked, low-paid men. The intelligent, quick-witted alertness required by a switchman's position can hardly be expected to be kept at maximum for eleven hours a day. It is not surprising that we have so many accidents by careless switching; the wonder is that with such long hours we do not have many more.

The most important feature of the situation, however, is not the reasonableness or unreasonableness of the men's demands, but the way these demands were treated. Whatever the merits of the case may be, the fact remains that both at Homestead and Buffalo the men were willing to submit the question in dispute to arbitration, and in both instances the employers peremptorily refused, insisting that their view of the case should be enforced at the point

of the bayonet. Not that we think arbitration would be sure to yield an economic adjustment, or that it would contribute at all to the settlement of the difficulty, but the offer of it shows that the men had confidence in the reasonableness of their position, and some respect for public judgment regarding it, and the employers' refusal implies that they had neither the one nor the other.

Of course the men may be beaten both at Homestead and Buffalo, as they usually are when they give an excuse for the use of military force; but this will not settle the matter in dispute. All the lessons of history teach us that social questions so suppressed are only postponed, to reappear in another and perhaps worse form. The English government has succeeded by similar methods in beating back the demands of Irishmen, but those who did not die of famine, in jail or on the scaffold have renewed their energies in different forms, until to-day the very man who put Parnell and his colleagues in jail is elected to concede their whole demand.

The moderate demand for the ten-hour day can be no more permanently kept back than can the flow of the tide. The victory of Messrs. Frick and Webb in temporarily breaking up labor unions, like the coercion tactics of young Balfour, will no doubt make them heroes of the hour among their class, but it should be remembered that every repetition of this experience is a blow at the safety and prosperity of capital and the permanent welfare of the community. The vital question involved in the present situation, and the one in which laborers, capitalists and society are equally concerned, is not merely who is right in this particular conflict, but how can industrial controversies be transferred from a military to an economic basis. This, of course, is a matter of economic education. How can we expect rational adjustments of industrial differences where both parties are ignorant of economic principles.

The kernel of the difficulty lies in the point of view from which laborers and capitalists see their relative inter-

ests. Neither of them has any adequate conception of the economic interests and social importance of the other. In their narrow view of the subject laborers erroneously believe that capitalists are parasites upon industry, and that all profit, interest and rent are so many fleecings from labor, or, as some of their writers put it, "unpaid wages." Of course nothing could be further from the truth, nor could anything be more calculated to create class antagonism and disregard for property rights and established institutions.

Nor is this due to wantonness on their part, but entirely to a misconception of the economic laws of society, which no amount of policemen, soldiery or editorial abuse can correct. *Economic Education* is the only remedy. If laborers understood economics as they do the multiplication table and other matters of common knowledge their delusions about rent, profit and interest being robbery would vanish, and the inflammatory talk of socialists, anarchists and free traders about "robber capitalists" would cease to be effective, even as campaign talk. Laborers would know that capital is simply a productive instrument, indispensable to social advance, and one that can only be profitable to its owner by contributing to public welfare. With this view of the subject their whole attitude towards capital and capitalistic methods would be radically changed. Instead of regarding it as their natural enemy, they would know it to be the most efficient instrument for promoting their own improvement.

On the other hand, if capitalists understood economics as well as they do the organization of industry, they would know that the advance of their own class could never be promoted by increasing cheap and servile laborers. They would see that the world over capital is safe and prosperous only where wages are high. They would understand that in the long run low wages are their worse enemy; that the only reason capitalists can grow rich in America while they cannot earn a living in Asia is because wages and social life

are higher here than there. If capitalists realized that the social improvement of the masses is the only sure foundation for their own permanent success—and this modern economics have demonstrated—their whole attitude towards laborers would be as radically changed as would the laborer's attitude towards them. They would see that it is to their interest to promote the social influences that tend to stimulate the natural growth of wages; and it is needless to say that war upon labor unions by the aid of Pinkerton police and state militia on the one side, and mobbing non-union men or destruction of property on the other, would be forever discarded. Rational discussion and economic competition would be mutually recognized as the only means of settling industrial disputes, because it would be known that all uneconomic methods are injurious to both, and that neither can permanently improve his position by the injury of the other.

The dangerous element in our present industrial situation is not the power of concentrated capital nor of organized labor, but the economic superstition by which they are directed, and for this there is but one remedy, *Economic Education*. Nothing can stop the rash conduct of hot-headed walking delegates and self-important managers but a more intelligent understanding of economic and social questions. In the present highly complex state of society no one is fully competent to administer large enterprises, conduct labor organizations, or to perform the duties of any public office, from town councilman to president of the United States, who is ignorant of economics. In short, the only thing that can eliminate domineering insolence and brute force from our industrial disputes, and cheap charlatanry from our politics, is *Economic Education*, and this must be the next great step in social advance if the march of industrial development is to be continued and the prosperity and integrity of the Republic maintained.

An American Nomination Law.

The genius of American institutions is based upon the sovereignty of the people—not of a few, a class, a race, a party, but all of the people. Sovereignty presupposes intelligence and character, fitting one for its high responsibilities, and laws and conditions guaranteeing the greatest freedom and safety for its exercise; for sovereignty trammeled is no sovereignty, but simply an expression of another's will. It is to this last prerequisite that I wish to direct my attention, seeking to show that, whatever our voter's qualifications for sovereignty, the free and safe exercise of it is not, under present laws, assured or possible.

The so-called Australian Ballot Law assumes to guarantee freedom and safety to the voter upon election day, but goes no further and seeks in no way to create qualifications. Everywhere, so far as the writer is aware, this new law has been founded upon old methods, adopted by parties independent of government and antagonistic to the very purposes of the law. I refer to the methods of nominating candidates, to vote for whom the law attempts to furnish safeguards.

This new law boasts that it enables the voter to prepare and cast his ballot in perfect secrecy, removed a sufficient distance from political "wire-pullers" to prevent any outside influence affecting his action on this particular day. It prohibits candidates and their friends as well as party managers and ward politicians from printing and offering ballots to the voter, and the latter from accepting and voting any but the official ticket prepared by sworn officers; but of what boon does it deprive the ward worker, "heeler" and politician? The law says to them, "you shall not go to the ballot box with the voter and see that he deposits your ticket; but you may, anywhere from a week to several months before the election, manipulate a

caucus or convention, and thereby determine whose name shall go on the official ballot." It says:

" You may not intimidate the voter at the polls, but you may set up the pins weeks in advance, pack the caucus, bulldoze the convention, defeat the will of delegates by shrewd parliamentary practice, or, by a combination, make a slate and nominate it, in spite of the will of the people. You may, if you choose, select men in this way, without regard to their character, without considering whether they will faithfully serve the people and discharge their office as a trust; you may make your choice solely on the considerations whether the nominees can get the bad as well as the good vote of the party, or furnish what you think is a reasonable amount of money to defray campaign expenses, or control the votes of some class or nationality. You may do all these things without regard for, and, perhaps, in opposition to, the will of the people, and the proper officer shall put the result on the official ballot."

Up to this point the law does not propose to meddle. What goes on the ballot is immaterial to it so long as it bears the stamp of some political party, whether that stamp was obtained by fraud, intimidation, or trickery. Beyond that point it will throw around the voter the halo of secrecy, the sanctity of the law; and when he goes into the political " holy of holies" on election day the law will see that there are no prying eyes, no bulldozing words or threats; but, with a calm intellect and active conscience he shall be allowed to choose out of the men thus nominated by the politicians of the several parties which ones he will endow with his intellectual and moral conscience, his individual sovereignty, for one or more years. When the voters have registered their choice for such nominees the law will see that choice sacredly canvassed, declared and recorded.

Such is an American election, even where we have the best form of the Australian Ballot Law, and such we boast of as " the elective franchise," " national sovereignty," and

"American freedom." In a sober moment we discover that the people had little or no voice in selecting our many sovereigns, but were only called upon to ratify the choice made by King Caucus Republican, King Caucus Democrat, or the King Caucus of some other party. Is it any wonder that there is misfeasance and malfeasance in office, under such methods of nominating officers; or that the question of municipal misrule has become one of the greatest problems for thinking men and statesmen? It would seem not, but rather a matter of surprise that things are no worse, and justify the distinction made by one writer, that "a monarchy is a nation governed by *one* tyrant, while a republic is a nation governed by *many* tyrants."

The problems of government need, for their successful solution, the learning of the colleges, the conscience of the church, and the clear brain and experience of practical business men. These are the forces that are solving the great scientific, educational, industrial and financial questions, and making possible a progress which the world has never before known; but everywhere *politics* are controlled and blighted by the slums of our cities, the ignorance of voters, the conscienceless politician, and the treacherous office gambler. To supplant the latter classes, and in their place make the opinions of the former the power in our government, is a problem well worthy the study of the statesman, and is the purpose of this article.

By this time the reader may have begun to question whether our present method of nominating officers is not more defective than the old method of electing them; and whether, if the latter needed amendment, or an entirely new law to govern it, the former does not also. We most decidedly believe it does, for it would seem more important to throw legal safeguards around the former than around the latter, although we heartily endorse the new law as a step in the right direction. The nomination of officers is logically a part of our election machinery; and, as it so intimately affects the government, it should be

controlled and directed by the government thus affected, just as fully as the election itself.

But in what way can this be done? By enacting an American Nomination Law, and so blending it with the election law as to give us a complete and effective but simple election system, guarded carefully from beginning to close of the important work of selecting our many national sovereigns. This nomination law should make the election of candidates in law, as it is in fact, one step in an election, and a matter for the people, guarded by formalities just as sacred as the final vote for these candidates. Expressed in a few words, the people should withdraw from parties the power they have assumed to exercise, and vote to nominate, just as faithfully as they now do to elect. Whatever plan shall be adopted will probably need amendments and changes, as experience shows its weak points; but that in no way argues against a beginning.

My proposition is to have the people upon a given day, in a manner directed by law, record their preference for candidates to be voted for at the next election by coming together and depositing a ballot expressing that preference, protected by formalities similar to those provided by the Australian Ballot Law and under the guard of sworn officers. The following plan is outlined largely as a matter of suggestion. Methods of greater merit may be devised by others. On a given day, to be fixed by law and uniform throughout the state, not more than three nor less than one month preceding general elections, nor more than one month nor less than one week preceding town, village, city or special municipal elections, a nomination by ballot by the qualified electors in the several voting precincts of the state shall be held, and the vote canvassed, recorded and certified in the manner following, to wit:

i. At least one week prior to such nomination day the officer who is charged by the present ballot law with the duty of preparing the official ballot shall prepare a nomination ballot on which shall be printed the names of

the various offices that are to be filled at the ensuing election, in the order in which they will appear on the official election ballot, leaving a blank space preceding the name of each office, in which the voter shall write the name of the person whom he desires to nominate for such office.

2. On the day appointed by law for the nomination vote the election booths provided by the ballot law shall be in order and the inspectors of election shall open the nomination in the same manner, and such inspectors, together with the clerks taking part in the regular election, shall conduct the nomination vote and furnish to each voter an official ballot, and after the same is prepared by the voter receive the same, announcing the name of the voter, record such name, deposit the ballot in the regular election box, keeping a perfect poll-list of all voters, together with their residence, and at the close of the vote canvass the same, declare and record the result in the same manner, with the same formalities, and under the same or similar safeguards as are provided by the law for conducting an election pursuant to the present law.

3. The name and residence of each person for whom any such nomination votes are cast, together with the number of votes and the office for which the same were cast, shall be promptly certified to the proper town, village, city or county clerk, as the case may require.

4. In case of nomination for state officers the proper officers shall canvass the returns of the county and certify them to the secretary of state or other officer, as the law may provide. When certified to the proper officers, the total results of the nomination for each office shall be fully canvassed, declared, recorded and certified back to the officer whose duty it is to prepare the official ballot for the ensuing election.

5. The officer whose duty it is to prepare the official ballot, or, in case of mere local offices, the officer who is required to keep the poll-lists, shall prepare in the form of a book the results of the nomination, arranging the names

of all persons voted for for the first office on the official ballot in the order of the votes cast for them, beginning with the highest and ending with the lowest, each name having placed after it the residence of the nominee, his political declaration, made for such purpose, on any question, and the total number of votes cast for him. The names of those nominated for the other offices shall follow in the order in which they occur on the official ballot. A sufficient number of these books shall be prepared by such officer, so that they may be placed in a number of public places for inspection by the electors in the precinct, at least one week preceding the election, and on election day there shall be one of these books provided for each polling booth for inspection by the voter in preparing his election ballot. Perhaps in addition an official publication in one or more newspapers should be made of the results of the nomination, at least a week before the election, to sufficiently inform voters in advance.

6. Each person receiving a nomination for any office shall, if he desires to accept such nomination, file with the highest officer to which the results of his nomination are certified an acceptance, with a statement of his political preferences, or his position upon any given question which is sought to be made an issue at such election; the officer so receiving such acceptance and statement shall certify it to the proper county, city, village or town clerks or other officers whose duty it is to prepare the official ballots in connection with the name of such candidate; and if no such certificate is made his name shall not be included in said nomination book or placed on the election ballot. The poll-list kept at such nomination vote shall be regarded as the only registration required by law to be made of the several voters in such precinct; and persons may be challenged, when offering to vote at such nomination, for the same reasons and in the same manner as they may be upon a regular election day, except as to the matter of registration. No person failing to vote at such nomina-

tion, and thereby to be registered in the aforesaid manner, shall be allowed to vote at the ensuing election, except he makes affidavit of his necessary absence or disqualification at the time such nomination was had, in a manner now provided by law on failure to be registered.

7. In preparing the official election ballot two methods are suggested, the writer much preferring the latter: (1) In preparing the election ballot, the officer intrusted with this duty shall place upon it, for each principle or party, only the names of the two persons receiving the highest number of nomination votes for the respective offices, who have filed the proper acceptances and declaration, unless such other nominee or nominees or their friends shall file with the proper municipal or county clerk or secretary of state, as the office to be filled may require, a request signed by at least one per cent. of the voters at the last preceding general ward, municipal, county, state or other election in the territory which the officer is to represent; provided, that in ward, town and village elections such number need not exceed ten; in a city, county, assembly, senatorial or judicial election it need not exceed fifty; and in a state, congressional or presidential election it need not exceed two hundred, in which case the name of the nominee for whom such request is filed shall also be placed on the official election ballot, with the names of the other nominees for the same office, alphabetically arranged; the ballot to be otherwise prepared as at present provided by the ballot law. (2) The person intrusted with that duty shall prepare an official election ballot similar to the nomination ballot, containing, in their proper order, the names of the respective offices to be filled, with a space preceding the name of the office, in which space the voter in the election booth shall write or fill by sticker the name of the person for whom he wishes to vote. This method would be a severe blow to illiteracy, and would require voters to give the matter of elections more study and attention than at present, and put a premium upon intelli-

gence. A proper clause allowing those who are blind or otherwise physically incapacitated to receive assistance should be included, but nothing to assist illiteracy. With proper modifications, the "envelope system" of ballots might be used in small places, such as town and village elections.

8. It shall be unlawful for any political party or other body of voters, either in convention, caucus, or otherwise, directly or indirectly, to nominate any person for any public office, or publish any such choice in any way, or in any way to attempt to name or nominate a candidate for any public office, so as to influence the action of the voters at either the regular legal nomination or the election, either before or after such legal nomination; provided, that this shall not be construed as preventing any newspaper, or any individual voter, through a newspaper or otherwise, from singly expressing its or his preferences for candidates for any or all offices to be filled.

J. BURRITT SMITH.

We publish the above article by the editor of the *Campaigner*, an able Prohibition organ of Madison, Wis., because it contains a distinct proposition for amending our election machinery. But we cannot share the views of the writer. In the first place, we think he over-estimates the evil of our present nominating machinery. Political caucuses and conventions are not nearly so corrupt as he seems to think. Thoroughly unpopular men cannot be elected to attend national conventions. The system known as "caucus packing" is really very rare. Nor can a candidate who does not represent the views of a party, except in rare instances, get the nomination of that party. The talk about candidates being better than their parties is always an evidence of Phariseeism rather than leadership. Nearly all the real evils referred to will be eliminated or greatly modified by a well-developed election law, furnishing entire secrecy to voting. Such a law is already in existence in

many states in various degrees of perfection. In most cases it provides that nominations can be made by a very limited number of citizens, and the names of those nominated will go on the ticket in the same way as those selected at party conventions, thus giving to a small knot of reformers the same power of nomination as large organizations, which seems substantially to meet the case—at least for the present, until this has had a fair test.

Our opposition to the scheme proposed in the above article is that it is so intricate and complex that it would practically defeat itself by making the electoral machinery more cumbersome and unworkable. It is a part of the genius of our political institutions that public questions shall be discussed and acted upon as fast as public opinion upon them is crystallized, and nothing better registers the consensus of public opinion upon any subject than an organization. Therefore party nominations are distinctly more representative than individual nominations could possibly be.

The last clause of the proposed scheme appears to us to be fatal to public discussion. It declares that caucuses and conventions, and, in short, organized action in favor of nominating a candidate, shall be prohibited. This would be a direct blow at the freedom of public meeting, which would be worse than all the evils of our present election machinery.—[ED.]

Country Boy Versus Town Boy.

III.

The writer does not deny but that many city schools might not be up to the highest standard of efficiency, as also many country schools might be much superior to the one selected as a type, but he maintains that to claim that the average country school, with its short terms, untrained, ill-paid and frequently changed teachers, with its irregular attendance and the division of its time among all grades of pupils, from those just entering the primer to those professing to be finishing the eight common branches, all taught by but one teacher, can at all approach the efficiency of the average city school, is a piece of arrant nonsense. The systematic and efficient organization of the city or town school, and the perfect discipline to which it inures the pupils, afford the best possible training for the duties and vicissitudes of life.

Admitting that there is such a thing as discipline which subordinates the individual to the mass, yet there is likewise a kind of discipline that, while it trains the individual to act his part as a member of an organization, also reaches and develops his individuality. To use a military figure in illustration, we may say the first kind is the discipline of the Grecian phalanx, the latter the discipline of the Roman legion. In the phalanx the soldier was nothing of himself; his efficiency was only as he acted his part as a piece of a vast machine, of which but a third part of its members could be used in actual combat, the rest lending only the *vis inertia* of their dead weight. But, such as it was, the phalanx proved vastly superior to the *undisciplined* hordes of barbarians whom it overthrew with ease. The legion was also a perfect machine of its kind, but the object of its discipline and tactics was attained when every

legionary was brought beard to beard and foot to foot with an enemy in single combat. While his arms and training fitted him specially as an individual fighter, yet the legionary thoroughly understood every manœuvre in mass, and every duty which the emergencies of a stricken field might require.

So a well graded and disciplined city school has much in common with the Roman legion. As the one was divided into principes, triarii and hastati, with the subdivisions of cohorts, centuries and decemvirii, so the other is divided into primary, intermediate and high school, each of these departments into grades, the grades into classes, and the classes into sections, until the individual is reached and his powers brought forth. Is he discouraged by his deficiencies as he is compared with the others of his section? If so, he may take one step backward and regain his self-confidence when standing well among new associates. Is his progress retarded by his classmates? In that case he may then advance a step, so furnishing himself with the strongest incentive to make his new footing good. He has opportunity for comparison, and is subjected to that friction of like mind to like mind that sharpens both. The town boy carries the system and discipline of his school days into after life. He makes his efficiency felt behind the counter, at the mechanic's bench, in the bank, in the learned professions and in all walks of civil life. With him success is a matter of course, and as a man he is not forever prating about the disadvantages surmounted in his boyhood. He is an efficient apprentice or a college student at an age when the country youth is still one of the "big boys" at school. Should war occur, a very little training suffices to convert the young men of the cities into first-class soldiers, as was so plainly shown in the early days of our last war.

With the view to obtaining further light upon the subject treated of in this article, the writer addressed a series of questions to a number of the leading educational insti-

tutions of the country. These questions were designed to elicit information in regard to the relative standing of country, town and city youths as to age, physical and mental abilities, and deportment. Many refused to answer, alleging that comparisons of such a nature might give offense to numbers of their patrons. Others, while perfectly willing to afford all information possible, could not do so as to these points, as no records of such were kept. But a few of them searched the records and made observations among their students. All of their replies were found to agree in the following particulars, viz.: (1) That students from towns and cities were, as a rule, much younger than those from rural districts; (2) that the town and city youths were fully the equals of those from the country in health, size and physique; (3) that the city and town boys had much the advantage of the country boys as to proficiency, disclosed at entrance examinations; (4) that the country students usually give the most trouble in the enforcement of order and of needful regulations; (5) that the town and city students furnish the larger percentage of those who persevere through the full course and graduate; (6) *that the great majority of students in these higher institutions are from towns and cities.* The following letter from West Point is a fair sample of most of the replies, only it presents its country students in rather a more favorable light than do other institutions:

WEST POINT, N. Y., October 15, 1891.

MR. JOHN M. WELDING, Hope, Indiana:

SIR—Major-General Schofield, commanding the Army of the United States, has referred to me your letter of the 5th inst., in which you ask a number of questions in reference to the comparative bravery, endurance, patriotism and ability of city and country boys. Your first question refers to the late war. I took an active part in various campaigns, from the battle of Bull Run until the surrender of General Lee, and saw such magnificent work done both by city and country regiments that I would deem comparisons odious in the extreme. I doubt whether any statistician has ever gone into the subject deep enough to deduce any reliable conclusion upon the questions you ask. To answer fully your second, third, fourth, fifth and sixth questions would necessitate an elaborate examination of the records of many years, which

would demand more time than I could afford without seriously neglecting the more important work committed to my charge.

In looking over our records I find that in the year 1855, as an example, eighty cadets were admitted, and of these eighty only thirty-seven graduated, as follows:

	ENTERED.	GRADUATED.
City.....	31	16
Town	33	14
Country	16	7

In June last ninety-six men were admitted to the Academy and reported their homes to be as follows: Cities, thirty-two; towns, forty; country, twenty-four; total, ninety-six. These youths have just commenced the Academic course, and I am not prepared to express any opinion as to their mental capacity. While it is not a matter of record, I think I might state that in our preliminary examinations for admission the city boys, as a rule, have an advantage over the country boys, from the fact that the educational advantages in the cities are superior to those in the country.

I wish it were in my power to gratify you by fully answering your questions, but to do so would require considerable time and labor.

Yours very respectfully,
JOHN M. WILSON,
Colonel of Engineers.

So it is very plain that the cities and towns furnish the bulk of the brains and skill of the nation, even though they be much in the minority of population. Reference to the tables given in the report of the Commissioner of Education discloses many suggestive facts. The highest percentage of illiteracy is found in the agricultural states, and these states keep down the general average of the nation as to school attendance, length of school term, annual salaries of teachers, and all items indicative of educational progress. As compared with the other nations that lead the van of progress, America makes a poor showing. The average annual salary of the American teacher is \$245. In Prussia the lowest salary allowed by law is \$214, with house and fuel furnished. In Great Britain the averages for males are \$588, \$659 and \$388 for England, Scotland and Ireland respectively. Even poor little Greece pays \$238, and gives the superannuated teacher a monthly pension varying from \$12 to \$20, according to disability. Switzerland pays \$280 and furnishes the teacher with a house and a piece of land to cultivate. In the United

States the average annual school term is 135 days. In the European countries above named the minimum term is 160 days, the average 176 days.

For whatever good showing America can make in any of these points, the credit is due to her cities and towns. Take Indiana as an example of one of the leading agricultural northern states, and we find her average length of school term to be 130 days. Average annual salary of male teachers, \$287; female, \$237. Average daily wages of male teacher in country, \$2.07; in towns, \$3; in cities, \$3.87. But the city and town schools average about nine months in the year, while in the townships the term is less than five months.

Patriotic citizens of all classes should awake to the importance of elevating the standard of intelligence among the rural population. It should be borne in mind that our Union was once dragged to the verge of dissolution by a large section of the agricultural class. It is plain that the great political and financial heresies of the present day find the bulk of their adherents in the rural districts. The American farmer is afflicted with that most dangerous thing, "a little learning." We are too much inclined to think that our greatest danger is in the ignorant foreign element of our large cities; but this element, by being at once restrained by the strong arm of the police and military, and its youth trained in the excellent public schools of these cities, will soon cease to be formidable.

A great mass of *quasi* intelligent citizens, forming the majority of voters, scattered over an immense extent of territory and possessing abundant resources, has the power to roll backward the wheels of progress. Let us hope that this great class of citizens, mostly native American, and possessing a large share of the best traits of the American character, will awake to the disgrace of allowing itself to drag in the wake of modern progress; that it may become imbued with the spirit of Solomon's proverb: "The labor

of the foolish wearieh every one of them, because he knoweth not how to go to the city."

It is not hereby implied that the farmer should construe the latter clause of the proverb literally, and actually to quit his occupation and betake himself to the cities. The crowded tenement and the isolated farmhouse are alike inimical to the best social conditions of American life. Who knows but that as he rises in the scale of intelligence the agriculturist may learn to apply the lever of *associated capital* to his department of labor, as has for so long been done by the manufacturer, miner and merchant in theirs? Who knows but that under such a condition the farmers may abandon their lonely, narrow and selfish manner of life and dwell together in small and well-regulated towns or cities, while those faithful and untiring Helots, iron, steam and electricity, under the supervision of associated capital, shall return them the produce of the field in a largely increased amount? No doubt, then, but that mechanics, merchants and manufacturers will reverse the proverb, forsaking their overcrowded cities, and distribute themselves among these rural communities, where room may be found for all; where all classes of Americans may dwell as neighbors, mutually respecting, benefiting and elevating one another. There the best agencies of education—the kindergarten, the graded school, the high school and the gymnasium—shall do their perfect work in improving the whole people mentally and physically. Then the "town dude" and the "country hawbuck" shall be but memories of the past that provoke the mirth of the cheerful, studious, industrious, ambitious and polite AMERICAN BOY.

JOHN M. WELDING.

Editorial Crucible.

Correspondence on all economic and Political topics is invited, but all communications, whether conveying facts, expressing opinions or asking questions, either for private use or for publication, must bear the writer's full name and address. And when answers are desired other than through the magazine, or manuscripts returned, communications must be accompanied by requisite return postage.

The editors are responsible only for the opinions expressed in unsigned articles. While offering the freest opportunity for intelligent discussion and cordially inviting expressions of well digested opinions, however new and novel, they reserve themselves the right to criticise freely all views presented in signed articles, whether invited or not.

IT IS well known that the *Evening Post* experiences great difficulty in making a statement exactly straight. It is encouraging, however, to note that our criticism of its supercilious lecture to a Western editor on "intrinsic value" and "exchange value" forces a blush to its cheek. We had hardly thought such a thing possible, since omniscience never blushes. In the hope that hereafter it will refrain from such absurd use of economic language when lecturing its brethren on their ignorance of economics, we forgive it for twisting the obvious meaning out of the greater part of our statement, as bad habits are hard to break up.

IN THIS issue we close the series of papers on the "Country Boy versus Town Boy." If any of our readers are disposed to think Professor Welding has overdrawn the case, we recommend them to read Edward Eggleston's "Hoosier Schoolmaster," and we venture to think they will regard Mr. Welding, who is himself a Hoosier, as being very moderate in comparison. The fact is slowly coming to be recognized that social isolation is not as inspiring nor

as cultivating, and does not contribute as much individual development as social intercourse; and that, with all the disadvantages of city life described in books, it is and always was from the cities that the propelling force of civilization comes.

THE NEW YORK *Press*, in a very timely editorial, makes bold to charge the Homestead, Buffalo and Tennessee uprisings to Democratic teaching. This seems a little rash, but there is more truth in it than at first appears. Ever since Mr. Cleveland issued his 6th of December message about American capitalists gorging on the plunder of American laborers, Democratic papers, aided and abetted by their Mugwump allies, have sent forth a continuous stream of abuse upon American capitalists. Successful manufacturers have been constantly labeled "robber barons," and pointed out as the plunderers of labor. In this way Democratic editors have done much more during last the four years to create the belief among laborers that rich men live by robbing them than all the socialistic and anarchic speeches could ever have accomplished.

ENGLISH EDITORS who are so wisely discoursing about the desperate condition to which Protection has reduced workingmen in the United States are evidently unacquainted with the facts in regard to their own country. According to the latest dispatches from London, several hundred shipwrights were discharged from the Clyde shipyards August 19th, and several hundred more August 20th, the reason given being that there is no work for them. In Lancashire, according to the *Cotton Factory Times*, in order to avoid short time (three or four days a week) and a reduction of wages, the weavers of Preston, Blackburn and several other large centers have voted in favor of an eight hour work-day. In the iron and steel trades the masters are considering a reduction of wages. In the shoe trade in Leeds the situation is even worse. It does

not occur to these editors to attribute this industrial depression to Free Trade, although they are cock-sure that all our troubles are caused by Protection. It may be noted in this connection that the American strikes are not to resist falling wages caused by declining trade, as in England, but are demands for an increase of wages, which is an evidence of industrial prosperity.

THE PROVERBIAL unfamiliarity of Englishmen with American conditions is being forcibly illustrated just now in their discussion of our industrial situation. London papers are declaring, with as much confidence as if they knew something about it, that the strikes at Homestead and Buffalo are the last desperate efforts of workingmen to resist starvation. If these journals cared to ascertain the facts they could easily learn that many of the strikers at Homestead get twice and three times the wages of some of the most contented English laborers. Such statements, besides showing dense ignorance of American affairs, reveal an equal amount of economic stupidity. The industrial history of their own country ought to have taught them that extensive strikes are seldom inaugurated by starving men. Any class that will permit itself to be oppressed to the verge of starvation is usually too weak, ignorant and servile to impressively assert its demands. Such people will beg, go to the poorhouse, emigrate or die, but they do not often strike, and the lower they are the less the probability of their doing so. One would think that the hundreds of strikes among the best paid, skilled mechanics in England, and almost none among the poverty-stricken agricultural laborers, would have taught these London editors that strikes do not always mean starvation, but more frequently a new step in social progress.

DURING HIS LATE canvass in England, Mr. Gladstone remarked that the older he grew the more he began to be convinced that the educated classes were in public affairs

rather more conspicuously foolish than anybody else. This was proved by letters written to the *Times*, in which professors of the universities took the lead in silliness, it was said, with barristers, attorneys, retired generals and parsons as close followers. Now, why should Mr. Gladstone come round to this opinion? Why, indeed, except that collegiate studies, as taught in the universities, so remove their students' minds from actual life as to make them positively incapable of seeing what is and what is not reasonable in the conduct of life, and what are the important things in the drift of affairs. So it comes to pass that in the immense and overwhelming movement of modern society, educated people are not the leaders. Nor do they furnish anything which contributes to the solution of social problems. On the contrary, they either sit by in an Oriental contemplation, dazed and looking wise, or they offer soothing plasters made of amicable and ancient precepts, like a Greek chorus, or they stiffly oppose and try to hinder its progress. But lead they do not, and the brawny men of the world—workmen of no studious pursuits—knock out their own solutions as best they can. The solutions involve the welfare of no less than seven-tenths of the community directly, and of all of us indirectly. Now, Economics, rightly studied, will furnish everyone with the materials of the solution, and put all in contact with affairs, so as to put to flight once for all the dreams and whimsies which now pass current for principles and practical ideas. It will substitute for a reign of words a supreme regard for ultimate and controlling facts.

THE NEW YORK *Times* lays great stress on the Supervising Architect's statement that the enforcement of the Eight Hour Law on public works will cost the government \$3,000,000 a year on building contracts. It is too bad that the *Times* cannot find something to say against the Eight Hour Law that is not quite so stale. The objection that a reduction of the hours of labor would increase the

cost of production is as old as the first measure introduced in England to reduce the working time of factory women from fourteen and fifteen hours a day. This cry has been repeated every time that any reduction has been proposed from that day to this. Nevertheless, reductions have been made and the cost of production does not increase. The editor of the *Times* can get his shoes, shirts and coats for less money now than he could when those who made them worked sixteen hours a day. If the government will lose \$3,000,000 a year by adopting the Eight Hour Law, what will become of the contracting carpenters and builders in our large cities who are working under the same rule? At that rate they would all have gone into bankruptcy long ago; but they seem to be as prosperous as ever. If the government cannot carry on this work without losing \$3,000,000 a year, let it turn over the job to private enterprise. There is something about the compensating operation of economic forces that seems to puzzle our *laissez faire* editors. How prices can be lowered by Protection, or production cheapened by working shorter hours, is to them a closed secret. If they could once understand that the cost of production is now determined much more by the quality of tools laborers use than by the amount of muscle they expend, and also that the quality of tools used in any industry depends chiefly upon the extent of the market for its products, they would see that more leisure and higher wages, being strong incentives to consumption, greatly promote the use of improved machinery. It is in this indirect way that both less hours and Protection tend ultimately to lessen the cost of production and bring about the paradoxical result which puzzles the *Times* and its friends. Doctrinaire writers may not be able to understand it, but if they will look around they will see that this constantly occurs, their prediction to the contrary notwithstanding.

Book Reviews.

Farming Corporations. By WILBUR ALDRICH. (pp. 255).
W. Aldrich & Co., 120 Broadway, New York.

Mr. Aldrich is evidently one of those farmer's sons whom neither a college education nor city life could alienate from his first love. Whether he was attracted to the city by its superior advantages, or driven from the farm by its monotonous loneliness, he has lost none of his interest in his class, as is shown by the dedication of his book: "To my father, Cyrus Lovell Aldrich, and to his and my own class, that of American farmers, now suffering an inglorious decline, I dedicate this book." Mr. Aldrich has endeavored to point the way to the farmer's redemption, and, as one might expect, it is through co-operation. It represents a curious mixture of city influence, economic study and rural prejudice. Notwithstanding that he thinks American farmers are "suffering an inglorious decline," for which reason he probably left them, he says: "If cities are the field of some talent they are the graves of much more. Even now the country develops much more than its share of talent and individuality." If this be true, one is tempted to ask why are farmers declining?

In his general treatment of the subject, and especially in the development of his imaginary "Androscooggan Industrial Association," our author shows a familiarity with the various phases of farmer life and labor that could only come from experience. Moreover, the statement is made in simple, direct English, and withal is really attractive reading. While showing all the interests of the farmer it reveals a strong vein of common sense, and a marked absence of the bad economics which usually characterizes co-operative, and especially farmer co-operative literature. With the exception of a smattering of socialism it is for the most part a really wholesome economic discussion.

Mr. Aldrich sees the economic advantage of the use of machinery, and thinks that co-operative farming would give small farmers all the advantages of it without surrendering the individual ownership of their small farms. He even thinks woolen, leather, iron and other manufacturing industries could be successfully conducted by co-operative

farming, and thus make each "Androscoggin Industrial Association" a complete, self-supporting community.

Here is where he seems to break away from the manifest trend of civilization. For a community of farmers within the limits of a single center to become a complete community, doing all its own manufacturing and consuming all its own agricultural products, is necessarily to turn back to small community conditions, which of course means smaller capitals and inferior methods. Mr. Aldrich quotes Dr. Werner Siemens, a German scientist, who predicts that with the further development of machinery the highest use of mechanical skill will return "to the system (now almost extinct) of independent, self-sustaining, domiciliary labor." Now this means again turning the home into a workshop, which would be distinctly a step backwards. Nothing can be anticipated that would have a more de-socializing effect upon the laboring classes than a relapse from the factory system to a domestic system of industry. One of the great marks of social advance that the factory system brought was the breaking up of home workshops.

Notwithstanding this lapse from evolutionary economics, the book is well worth reading, and especially by those interested in the socialization and economic development of the farmer class. It ought to be read by every member of the Farmers' Alliance, and all interested in the farmer movement, for while it is a little socialistic, it contains so much more good sense than their ordinary literature that in comparison it reads like good scientific economics. It has, we repeat, the merit of being attractively written by one who is thoroughly familiar with his case, and on the whole probably contains more good economics than any other book on the subject which it treats.

Money, Silver and Finance. By J. HOWARD COWPER-THWAITE. G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1892.

The author of this book is a business man, who believes that the Silver question is of paramount importance to-day. He thinks that (p. 3-4) "the displacement of silver by gold as a standard measure of value among the great commercial nations has been as truly evolutionary as has been the displacement as money of other unsuitable articles;" the important cause being "the cheapening of silver through over-production and through a natural decline in the *cost* of pro-

duction." He says that "copper bronze and nickel have proved their suitability for small change; silver has proved its suitability for dimes, quarters and half-dollars, and its unsuitability for dollars, or certainly for any larger coin; Gold has proved its unsuitability for smaller coins than quarter or half eagles, and for the ordinary use of money, from hand to hand, gold has been proved inferior to paper. But gold has taken the position of a base for paper money, and for national and international exchange of commodities." And hence he declares that "Congress cannot cause us to be born again, and into the Hindoo, Chinese, Japanese, or even into the Mexican or South American silver-handling type; but, through the operation of laws which favor silver, so much of the kind of money which is in every way unsuited to us may be forced into the foundations of our banking and credit system that there may be shaken or overthrown this marvelous structure which now so well serves our vast and intricate exchange of commodities." (p. 22).

Without agreeing entirely with Mr. Cowperthwaite in all that he says about the relative importance of the Silver Question, or endorsing all of his statements and arguments, we are nevertheless prepared to say that his book, while popular in style, is also sound and able, and that it will doubtless do much toward shaping a healthy public opinion upon the subject.

H. POWERS.

New Books Received for Review.

Positive Theory of Capital. By EUGEN V. BOHM-BAWERK. Translated by William Smart. Macmillan & Co., London and New York. 1891. 428 pp.

Capital and Interest. By EUGEN V. BOHM-BAWERK. Translated by William Smart. Macmillan & Co., London and New York. 1890. 431 pp.

The Case against Bimetallism. By ROBERT GIFFEN. George Bell & Sons, London and New York. 1892. 254 pp.

The Question of Silver. By LOUIS R. EHRICH. G. P. Putnam's Sons, London and New York. 1892. 113 pp.

Introduction to the Theory of Value. By WILLIAM SMART. Macmillan & Co., London and New York. 1891. 88 pp.

SOCIAL ECONOMIST.

OCTOBER, 1892.

Rights of Employers.

I have read with interest the contribution to the September number of the SOCIAL ECONOMIST from the pen of Mr. Kemper Bocock, entitled "Labor's Right of Free Speech." The gentleman has presented one of the theoretical aspects of the question with much force, and I do not think there are many who would be willing to take issue with him upon it, considering it from the one point of view which he assumes. He has presented the rights of labor from the standpoint of the laborer, and as seems to be in every way true to his purpose. It is not my intention to offer any scheme for the solution of the vexed question of the respective rights of labor and capital. The following remarks are offered simply with a view to showing that there are two distinct sides to the question, both of which must be considered if we would come to a just conclusion.

If the interests of the laboring man were alone involved, the position taken by the writer of the article above referred to would seem to be eminently just; when, however, we pursue the inquiry further, and find that there may arise conditions under which the rights of the employer seem equally clear, though in direct conflict with the apparent rights of the laborer, we must naturally conclude that the understanding regarding the relations between the two classes needs readjustment.

For the better presentation of the other side of the question, let us take the suppositional case of a builder doing an extensive business, in the prosecution of which

he employs a large number of skilled workmen, whose places could not be filled without much difficulty, and all of whom are members of the Federation of Labor; to these men he allows rates of pay and regulations which are entirely satisfactory to them. It so happens that a firm which is supplying this builder with material has trouble with its employes, who are also members of the Federation of Labor, and who proceed to carry out the policy which they have frequently pursued in the past, and which seems to be their favorite method in such cases, that of declaring that no other business shall accept and use the material furnished by this firm with which they are in dispute. The arrangements of the builder may be such that to comply with the mandate of the Federation would result in serious loss to him, and he ventures to continue the use of material from that firm; the consequence is his own men are all called out by the officers of their organization, however reluctant they may be to give up their employment, and however unprepared many of them may be to stand the loss of their wages at that time, and the employer is left helpless for the time being. He must look around for other men to fill their places.

Just here arises the question of *his* rights. Will he have the right to say: I am not willing to render myself liable in the future to another experience of this kind by taking into my employ other members of this Federation of Labor, and whenever such men present themselves to me for work I shall refuse to employ them, and demand as one of the qualifications necessary in the applicants that they shall not belong to any labor organization. On the same principle that he would refuse to employ a man liable to some sudden bodily disability over which the man had no control, such as catalepsy, or one who was so diseased that at some future time he would be liable to a sudden collapse and leave his employer without his services, so would he decline to employ a man subject to a power which leaves him (the workman) no choice, as in the case

presented above. This is no out-of-the-way, far-fetched illustration; it is one that has been presented here in New York City many times, and in one case not longer ago than the beginning of the summer just past.

Let us take another instance, that recently presented to the managers of railroads running into Buffalo. Between some of these railroad companies and their employes there was originally no difference whatever; the men regarded their pay as quite equal to that received by any other employes doing similar work, and their hours of work were also satisfactory. But when, in the regular interchange of business which the roads were engaged in, not only for their own profit, but to fulfill their obligations to the public as common carriers, they accepted freight from some of the roads involved in dispute with their men, they were informed by the labor organization directing the strike that if such practice were continued their own men would be ordered on strike. We know that in reality, notwithstanding the most strenuous efforts of the leaders of the strikers, they could not induce the other labor organizations to join them.

Let us suppose, however, what is frequently the case, and what might very possibly have occurred here, that the other organizations had gone to their assistance, and the strike had become general. If the railroad companies had been successful in combating the movement, it would have been necessary to secure other men in the place of those who left them. The question would again be presented: What *rights* would the railroad companies have, entirely aside from any question of *might*? Can anyone maintain that it would have been the duty of those corporations to take again into their service members of the labor organizations, and subject themselves to danger in the future of another such strait as this? Can it be said that they would have exceeded their rights, or rather their duty, by asking the men who should go to them for employment whether they belonged to a labor organization? Would they not, if

they neglected to do this, really betray the trust reposed in them by the people who granted the franchises, under which they operate their roads for the purpose not only of enabling them to act as common carriers at the present time, but with the expectation that they would so shape their policy as to be in a position at all times in the future to discharge such duty? It has long been conceded that any employe has a right to give up his place, after due notice to his employer, should he deem it for his interest so to do; but when large bodies of employes of a firm or corporation combine together in order that, when any question arises leading them to relinquish their places, they may, by leaving in a body, do serious and permanent injury to the interests of their employer, the case has assumed a new aspect, and it seems to me there are other and different principles involved from those existing in the case of the individual employe.

Suppose, however, that we grant to the laborer a right to organize, and even to strike, after due notice of such intention has been given to the public, what are the rights of the employer in the case? Will the employer not be justified in considering this feature in determining the present and future usefulness of the man, and would he be violating any rule of law or equity in so taking into consideration this fact, in view of the almost invariable results which have followed such affiliations on the part of the laborer? Bearing in mind the gross abuse in the past of the power obtained by the laboring man through organization, will the employer be doing a wrong either as a citizen or a humanitarian if he prefers to employ non-union rather than union men?

You may say that the laborer has made mistakes in the past through ignorance, but that they will be remedied in time, when he understands better the true relation of things. Very well; but whose duty will it be to bear the consequences of his mistakes in the meantime? If the laborer himself is the sufferer, and could be made the only

sufferer therefrom, would he not the sooner become wise, and learn that this contest between brain and brawn cannot but result in his own confusion and loss as long as he pursues his present course? We certainly cannot expect the employer to voluntarily shoulder the burden until the workingman has come to his senses.

Let us leave out of the question for the present the rights of the employer, and look at the working of the system of organization among the laborers themselves. We are told that there are one million of men in the United States belonging to some labor organization and that there are seven millions who do not. It will well repay the unprejudiced investigator to examine into the relations existing between these two classes. What is the course pursued by the union man toward his non-union brother? It is sufficient to say that the military and other armed force employed at the scene of strikes is as much needed to protect the lives of the non-union men as it is to prevent the destruction of property. Will it be asserted that the seven millions of non-union laborers have no rights which the one million union men are bound to recognize? Again, it is a fact well known to those who have paid attention to the subject, that many of the members of labor unions have been forced into joining them, because a refusal to do so would result in ceaseless annoyances and acts of petty spite on the part of their companions that would make life intolerable, to say nothing of the social ostracism to which they would be subjected.

The reader may here exclaim: After all you have said, you have not shown that the laborer has *not* the right to organize. It is true that acts of violence and lawlessness have been committed on almost every occasion where there was a strike of sufficient proportions—deeds done by men heated with passion, but when the workingman becomes better acquainted with his duties to the community at large and with his own true interests these objectionable features will disappear. When they *do* become acquainted with

such duties and observe them, the solution of the question will have been reached. Let me say that it is my belief, based upon considerable observation, that the employer does not care a picayune about the abstract right of the laborer to organize; what he cares for are the results which almost inevitably arise therefrom. Whatever the cause may be, the results are there, and those results he is obliged to meet with the best remedies he has at command. If the laborer could organize for his own intellectual and material advancement, there is no one who would be more willing to encourage such unions than the average American employer. This has been shown by his attitude toward the movement when it was first started, when in many cases it received his cordial support.

It is safe to say that there is not a single member of a labor union possessing ordinary intelligence who would consider it of any use whatever in gaining a point with his employer to leave his service quietly, individually or in company with others, and seek work somewhere else. It is his belief in his ability, in conjunction with his companions, to prevent other men taking his place that impels him to leave; and this he knows cannot be done without violence; therefore, the very existence of the institution of strikes is founded upon lawlessness.

H. F. HENRY, JR.

Mr. Henry does not controvert Mr. Bocock's view as to the laborer's right to be heard by his chosen spokesman, but seems to think the employer has a right not to listen to that spokesman and not to hire the laborer if he insists on using that spokesman for himself. And he urges further that if belonging to a union renders a man less suited to an employer's wishes or fancied interests he has a right to reject him on that account just as he has for feebleness or other physical incapacity; which, indeed, might be true if society did not begin to be involved here.

But while belonging to a union may put a man under some obligations which are liable to interrupt his contract with his employer and impair his usefulness in a crisis, yet as the visible effect of the union is greatly to elevate the laborer himself and all society with him, society must step in and say that the employer shall not make non-unionism a condition of the laborer's employment. It would be the same if the employer were to make it a condition with his men that they should not be able to read or write, or should all be unmarried. The condition is injurious to the men as citizens, is injurious to the state as tending to put one class of citizens more completely in the power of another, is hurtful to society since it would do away with one of its most socializing features. The unions are the public schools of our grown working people, and by their discipline, forethought and foresight train their members to new and useful virtues. They are the best means ever discovered and almost the only means by which a rise of wages and a shortening of hours can be secured, both of which are indispensable conditions of the advance of civilization.

True, the unions may dispute with employers and force strikes at inconvenient times, but a quarrel is never altogether one-sided, and employers have always a chance of preventing it themselves by yielding to demands, especially as the public good so far is usually on the side of laborers. It might suit Mr. Henry's idea better if the employer could own the laborers body and soul—then there would be no chance of a strike; but slavery has been tried, proved to be uneconomic and discarded, and now we are against any approach toward slavish conditions, of which the prohibition by employers of membership in unions is a surviving type. Free men doing as they choose outside of the factory doubtless offer some difficulties to the proprietor, but this fancied interest is not everything, and society must arrest him when he goes too far, and he will find his interests better served in the end.

The Hub of Social Evolution.

Our national humorist, Mr. Oliver Wendell Holmes, made a permanent title for Boston when he jokingly spoke of it as being to the Bostonian "the hub of the universe." But what he in jest said of Boston we wish in sober verity to assert as true of economics—that they are the hub of social development; and all other so-called centers of force and enlightenment, as religion, art, science, politics, letters and philosophy, are but spokes, springing out from economic conditions, and depending upon them. The corollary of this is that with a given economic status you will always have a given evolution of all these other matters, and can therefore infer one from a knowledge of the other. That is to say, given a certain religious, artistic, political and literary development, and you can infer the amount of general wealth from which it sprang; or, given the economic condition, and you can infer the development there reached by the other branches of human interest. In other words, advance of thought in any direction is dependent on a prior advance in wealth, and goes only so far as the wealth warrants it in going. Or, to put it in figure, wealth is the vessel of civilization, and carries all other things with it as cargo; wealth is the hub of the wheel, and the other things spokes to the wheel. Any true philosophy must start, therefore, with giving the economic conditions out of which all history has sprung; in each nation it must show how those conditions developed, with the special history which that nation has made.

It follows, of course, that since no philosophy of history has ever been written on these lines, no true philosophy of history has been written at all. The world still waits for it, and will wait till some realistic scholar arises who is also strong in economics, and can marshal his learning according to the principles they involve. This is

indeed not to be expected at present, though the trend of thought is making in this direction rapidly, and signs of such attempts are cropping up in reviews in many directions. But a scholar is made in libraries, as a rule, wherein, as Goethe said, "error lurks," and therefore the scholar is dead to economics, and alive only to the product of economics—as the paleontologist is dead to living animals, and alive only to skeletons and shells, the product of once living creatures.

But to return to our contention that economics are the hub of social evolution and all other things but spokes. The first and most troublesome disputant of this position whom we have to meet is the metaphysician. He is always difficult to meet anywhere, because, like the cuttlefish, he discharges such volumes of obscurity about his assailant's points that he seems to be victorious, even where he prevents himself and everybody else from seeing anything. He lives in mysteries, and instinctively scatters mysteries abroad. And he will say, indeed, that the hub of development is not wealth or economic conditions, but thoughts, and that thoughts precede even economics, because no man can do anything till he thinks of doing it, which, indeed, is true; but our contention here is that economic conditions produce the thought. A man must be before he thinks of anything, and being itself is primarily an economic condition, means of life being indispensable to life. DesCartes is esteemed by his fellow metaphysicians to have been wonderfully clever when he announced as an ultimate proposition, "I think; therefore I am," *cogito, ergo sum*; and they have discussed this proposition ever since as if it added something to knowledge to realize that nobody thinks till he is. And though one may after a clumsy manner infer to himself that he is, from the fact that thought is a sure warrant of existence to himself, he ought to remember that other people knew of his existence long before he recognized it himself when he began to think.

However, we must not ourselves drift on to the metaphysical shoal, whereon whoever strikes and lodges remains a useless wreck the rest of his days. And so we return to our self-evident statement—if we mistake not—that a man must exist before he can think, and therefore an economic condition of existence precedes his thinking of anything.

Then next let us say that a creature's economic condition determines in general what he shall think, and so again all his notions of religion, science, politics and the rest of human activities will be governed by the economic condition of his birth and growth. A human creature conceived and brought up among the barbarous Scythians could not stumble on the thoughts of Homer, or make the orations of Pericles, or the ethics and politics of Aristotle. His social condition would absolutely forestall such productions in that environment. The Scythian must think the thoughts of Scythians, the Tartar of Tartars, the Greek of Greeks, the Roman of Romans. And those thoughts again, though depending on the race, or brain, or genius, or education of his people in a general way, will run further back through these superficial qualities to the economic status of their progenitors—the amount of wealth which they were able to get and have at disposal for the needs and pleasures of life. Homer may be a poor man, but he cannot spring out of a poor community—say the Parthians or Mongols of that day; nor indeed can Pericles, Sophocles, Aristotle or any of the rest of them, any more than Chauncey Depew could rise among the Comanches to make after dinner speeches over a diet of cold water and raw buffalo. In other words, the dinner of champagne and terrapin must come before the orator can get either wit to speak or audiences to hear him. No Indian Red Jacket will equal him so long as said Indian wears paint and feathers and eats wild bear. Economic conditions are the source of all great and lofty thoughts. God himself never inspires poor savages and hunters of game.

Our second disputant as to the real hub or center of social evolution is of course the moralist, of whom, perhaps, Waldo Emerson may be taken as the type and representative. He holds the moral sentiment to be the center of progress, and all other development to be measured by that. He teaches that the human world exists by moralities and for moralities so entirely that all other things are secondary to moral principles. We know many a man of this kidney, and he is almost as completely the victim to his own inner consciousness as the metaphysician. He does not need to reason, because he knows he is right.

But with such, therefore, we are likely to talk in vain, on account of positive prepossessions. Yet to those of them who are evolutionists it would perhaps seem likely that in advancing from a purely animal condition to a social one the semi-social creature would certainly come into economic relations respecting food and drink, and matters relating to physical well-being, long before any moral aims or views could even be thought of. In fact, the right and wrong of adjustments would certainly arise subsequently to many adjustments previously made by the mere instinctive power of the stronger, or of the more cunning, or of the more tenacious; so that the first moral rules would be formulated out of social experiences already taken place, and economic matters would develop the idea of morality in social relations before it could arise from moral instincts.

But as the idea of morality would be born of economic relations, so the development of that idea would grow from the same causes. As transactions become more complex, so moralities would gain complexity and intensity, and the moral condition of any age would thus become the expression of its economic condition. The more wealth, the greater would be transactions, the more intricate the relations of people and nations, the more precise the rules of transactions and conduct—which rules would be considered moralities, since moralities are rules of conduct.

The necessity for this evolution of morality would be the same as that which makes discipline and exact obedience so much more necessary to the movement of a large army than to a corporal's guard. A million soldiers under arms must be moved like clock-work or the confusion will be inextricable.

Moralities, therefore, are, so to speak, mortised and dovetailed into the hub of social relations, and revolve about it. They are fewer in the country than in the city, fewer in isolated communities than in commercial countries, fewer in Switzerland than in the United States, fewer in agricultural Russia than in manufacturing England. An increasing moral standard, then, would attend an increase of wealth the world over. The increasing complexity and size of transactions compels a more exact observance of the received moral maxims of our age. Barter of goods in hand gives place to barter of goods by certificate; transactions of credit succeed transactions of cash. Honesty and honor thus arise. The style of man whose word is as good as his bond comes into repute, and the modern system of commerce, where checks and bills of exchange are used instead of metal money, becomes the basis of trade.

No man, therefore, has any chance of really understanding moralities fundamentally except he hold fast to the root of their origin in economic relations. Kant's exposition of "the categorical imperative—I ought," all the idealists' and absolutists' insistence upon a moral law in the conscience apart from social relations, must necessarily end in obscurity and confusion from their common failure to hold fast the primary relations out of which ethics spring. "The categorical imperative—I ought" arises out of conduct, and generally arises, we have no doubt, out of quite a different experience from that of the conscience. Its primary form would almost certainly be "he ought," and the occasion of its formalization would be where a stronger person had invaded some one's rights and so produced a sense of the wrong-doing of that stronger person, which ended in his victim's

saying, "he ought to have done differently." So the idealists' and absolutists' "moral law written in the conscience" would not be written there until after many experiences of injury and loss resulting from other peoples' injurious lines of conduct.

The whole matter of ethics will change the style of its discussion materially as soon as its basis in economics is recognized. Instead of absolutist schools and utilitarian schools as at present, we shall have a morality which is seen to be the expression of the economic relations of any given age, and therefore changes and improves as social relations increase in complexity. The "I ought" will then give place to "it is best to do so," and the "greatest happiness" principle of utilitarians—a principle unworkable, because no one can tell when he is applying rightly—will give place to a definite endeavor to give a *quid pro quo*—a perfect equivalent of service for service in each transaction and relation of life. Justice will then appear not as the draped and blind figure of the statuaries, but in the open-eyed and nude integrity of commercial transactions, where everyone is endeavoring both to get and to give the perfect equivalent of his goods and works at every moment. And trade, instead of being described, as it usually is, as a kind of knavery and a gospel of greed, will be seen to be, on the whole, in spite of numerous shortcomings, the keen endeavor of humanity to get the most for its services, as is right and wise.

Not till morality is defined from this, its original source, and referred to this as its final rule will the long and vaporous discussion about the basis of ethics and the principles of rights and duties get itself clarified and tolerably settled. Meanwhile the idealists will long go fumbling with their notion of "a conscience telling what is right," which conscience alike leads the missionary to the heathen and the heathen to kill and eat the missionary. The utilitarian will go meandering along in search of "a greatest happiness for the greatest number," which neither he nor anyone can ever decide how to reach in any given

case. And we must wait for all of them to see our plainest of plain rules, applicable every day, and to be always ready to give and to require just equivalents of service in all the relations of community. This principle evolves with the evolution of society, and answers with growing complexity to the growing complexities of societies increasing in wealth, power and variety.

The next disputant of our position, and doubtless a formidable one, would be the politician, using that word in its best sense as that of a man devoted to public affairs. For he would be sure to say that the main interests of mankind depend on the government under which a nation lives. He would indeed not say, if he were wise, that welfare depends on the form of government, seeing that men have failed and succeeded alike under monarchy, oligarchy and democracy; the main matter being, as to government, not its form, but the method of its administration, he might add. And certainly in its prominence before the public eye, its immediate and commanding effect upon national life, its power to control economic conditions, and to make or mar the future of a people by a wise or foolish policy, government is of the first importance, and the politics which make the government are most influential. Still, if a people remain in the same condition of production the government will be found quite ineffectual to produce any special change in their affairs. Switzerland may be free and republican for centuries, and historians may make a great cry about it, but the Swiss will do no better and be no happier in free Switzerland than their "oppressed" neighbors of "tyrannical Austria" under the government of the Hapsburgs. On the other hand, a state growing wealthy by increase of industries, as France under the Bourbons, side by side with the Swiss, will far outstrip that simple and pastoral people in all the arts and pleasures of life, in national development and renown, and eventually in freedom as well. So inevitably do economic forces work to fruitfulness, so inevitably do

political forces left to themselves work to barrenness. Only when politics lay the strong hand of legal power upon economic forces, arresting or stimulating production, forbidding or assisting evolution, can they determine a nation's destiny; but where economic evolution goes forward and wealth begins to increase, it will seize the reins of government itself and force monarchy, oligarchy and democracy each alike to do its bidding and enact its welfare. Then the nation growing in wealth will grow in liberty, will grow in civilization, will grow in self-respect and the respect of mankind. It is mainly in so far as liberty gives economic release to a people that it works out brilliant results, and as such it is worth all the fighting that men have been willing to do for it; but if conditions are such that economic release does not result in greater production, it will signify little or nothing. A South American republic has no marked advantages over a despotic Russia, and probably the people of the latter are not much the worse off of the two.

Our people indeed are rapidly evolving a government devoted to economic questions as the chief important ones, for the first time in history. Politics are losing their importance as separate from economics; we are beginning to have no politics pure and simple, which is right and wise and fortunate. And now that they have taken their proper place as an exponent of economics, and are endeavoring to administer government as it bears on the material prosperity of the people, they have reached for the first time in history, as we said, their proper place as secondary to economics, and are beginning a long and useful career, the like of which has never been seen before in the world. Even modern Europe floundered amid political dangers for centuries, and is only just beginning to escape by reason of the fact that the steam engine has so multiplied production and increased the preponderance of economic forces that no ruler or people can any longer disregard them. Economics are taking the helm and are going to keep it.

Therefore is it as we claimed—that politics also are only a spoke in the hub of economics, which lend them all the importance and motive power they have.

Still another contestant of our position as to the place of economics will be the advocate of education as the great renovator of humanity and the source of civilization. He believes the cause of modern progress to be the schoolhouse and its diffusion of general knowledge. He would contend that this knowledge is power, and that wealth is the result of wisdom rather than wisdom the result of wealth; that economics follow study and not study economics. He indeed might be graved by the well-known fact that in modern Greece scholars were so thick that the land suffered for want of agriculturists and the scholars were all poor. Germany, "the nation of professors," produced no movement of the masses towards improved social conditions. The Middle Ages swarmed with students who could not even leaven the misery, squalor and bigotry of those times. But believers in the sovereign efficacy of education would not be staggered by these facts, nor by the fact that in the very nature of the case, learning unaccompanied by improved methods of production would still leave society in bondage to such a hard, drudging and inveterate toil that the generous spirit would be repressed and dwarfed by daily labors. Nothing could release men from the "chill penury" which "freezes the noble currents of the soul" but increasing ease of production and an abundance of goods widely diffused.

But even these, perhaps, might wonder why the Prussians, who have the least illiteracy of all nations, are still behind English and Americans, who have less learning but more wealth. The answer by our contention is easy. It is that wealth produces all other kinds of progress, and learning does not. Wealth is the prolific mother-earth of all harvests, whereas learning, though beautiful, choice and delightful, is not the source of life, but only an ornament of life, and all the libraries of

the world together, known and used by all the people, could not produce one-tenth of the amelioration and civilization which the steam engine alone has produced in the fifty years of its use. Libraries grew while people battened, festered and died in unrelieved misery; now men lift up their heads because their redemption draweth nigh in machinery.

So letters are but another fly riding on the hub of economics in its swiftly revolving course, without whose dusty chariot wheel to ride on, letters themselves take on the stagnation, depression and uselessness of mediæval societies where wealth did not accumulate and men decayed in consequence. And may we not add that all the lamentation poured out from church and college, from professors' chairs and poets' songs, and artists, students and religious journals, and the platforms of orators, over the decay of high and noble virtues in consequence of the growing wealth and materialism of the age, are as ridiculous as if one should cry out against the dirty mud out of which our crops and trees and flowers spring, and lament that there is so much of it and that it is so rich and fertile.

The generous soil of wealth furnishes the social conditions out of which the whole development of higher civilization springs—the social condition which is the indispensable environment of genius and great works. And they who wish well for their country will therefore be ever ready to encourage the ever-increasing enterprise which enriches the nation, in the full assurance that a well-tilled soil will eventually produce the most excellent crops of every kind. Take care of the center of power and the rest will follow it as the felloes follow the revolutions of the hub.

Is Personal Liberty Desirable?

The earth, at certain points in its orbit, predictable by the astronomer, passes through meteoric belts, when, if you look up at the heavens, there are to be seen flaming portents which fascinate the eye and fasten themselves upon the imagination. These shooting stars drift often into our atmosphere, and we know not whence they come or whither they are bound. In the eye of the child or barbarian they awaken rapture or wonder; and it is not to be disputed that their pyrotechnical splendor affords us all a momentary, if fleeting, joy. It was not to one of these, however, that Emerson's thought is applicable, when he advises us "to hitch our wagon to a star."

To make an astronomical figure serve a sociological purpose: we seem at this particular stage of our civilization to have struck the meteoric belt, and we find various coruscations appealing to us all around the horizon. Brilliant schemes are shot forth for dispossessing the land owner; for preventing wealth; for suspending the right of inheritance; and for making the state a great mogul or appointed Santa Claus to deal out to each individual of us, the year round, unlimited comfits and comforts, with intent of delivering the daily loaf and gingerbread, share and share alike. Ready-made milleniums are now offered from innumerable counters at half price, with the volubility of the haberdasher, and with no suspicion that any of them may prove "misfits."

Now that the infection is in the air, and a great vociferation is heard at the rival shops, literature, especially the novel, takes it up and coats the bedlamism it selects with a romantic glow. These various schemes and theories for bettering life and burying evil and disaster all agree, however, in one thing: they all traverse more or less, and some of them wholly, the principle on which civilization

has hitherto worked, viz., the beneficence of human liberty. If we are to have the blessings offered by them we must first consent to resign our individual autonomy and rights, and become merely the single parts of a stupendous machine.

It would require more than the reasonable space which a single article may claim, to consider adequately the different social panaceas offered to-day for healing the world; nor do I set before myself that unthankful task. But as socialism is being vigorously promulgated, its great weaknesses should be discussed. Mr. Bellamy's book sets forth and commends a reign of socialism more complete and overwhelming than any that ever before entered the arena of sanity. That the author and his acolytes take themselves seriously there is no room to mistake. Already a hundred or more societies, from Massachusetts to California, have been organized and set in motion to aid in realizing the Utopia which "Looking Backward" was written to picture and promote.

Not to spend our time at this late day upon the details of this scheme, which are too well known to require recapitulation, we hasten to its chief outcome, which in brief is stated as follows:

"The industry and commerce of the country, ceasing to be conducted by a set of irresponsible corporations and syndicates of private persons, at their caprice and for their profit, were intrusted to a single syndicate representing the people, to be conducted in the common interest for the common profit. The nation, that is to say, organized as the one great business corporation in which all other corporations were absorbed, became the one capitalist in the place of all other capitalists; the sole employer, the final monopoly."

Now this is, then, apparently a peaceful revolution. We ought not, perhaps, to hold a dreamer and romancer too closely to the real world, but one would like to know by just what process all property in existence can pass

peacefully over to the state. For the owners certainly will not give it, and the state could not purchase it. The scheme, like that of the nationalization of land, could only be effected by confiscation pure and simple.

Supposing, however, that the revolution indicated is in some way accomplished in our country, what do we see? Instead of a republic devoted to freedom and individual rights, there is put in its place an immense bureaucracy, with its head-center at Washington, having absolute power over every individual, modified by no resource or appeal; a tyranny, absolute and unqualified. By the side of such a monstrous system as this the militarism of Germany or the czarism of Russia would be a boon indeed. You can think and act in Russia to a considerable extent, if you will not think politics and are not offensively hostile to the state religion. In military lands, compulsory service has some mitigations and exceptions; but the "Looking Backward" scheme (more admirably entitled than the author imagined), is ironclad, unescapable, and hideously dismal. Under it there are no longer any states, counties or towns as we now know them; nothing but an inexorable centralism which puts every human being on a dog-churn, and makes him go round without the solace of initiative or motive. There is the same lot for the president of a college as for a bootblack, and precisely the same pay. The roustabout is the equal of the rulers of railroads and of commerce. The tendency of such a system, of course, is to make the bootblack and roustabout ideal the measuring rod of humanity, to which status college presidents, and genius which might make its high mark, naturally descend.

This imagined Utopia has no money, and no use for it; ordinary buying and selling are outlawed. You merely have a credit card for your wages, and go to a government store and obtain its worth in commodities. Just what the yearly wage is, there is no precise statement that tells. But it is the same for an idiot, or for the halt and blind,

that it would be for a president of the United States or for a new Shakespeare, if so great a mind were again to appear. It is said, by implication, that everybody's earnings, properly applied, would leave a considerable yearly profit; but we are told this is of little use, except to buy things to look at or to give away.

One bribe which the new social state offers is a reduction of the period of labor, which runs only for twenty-four years and ends at the age of forty-five. The professional classes, which might be supposed to have some governing skill, are, curiously, not allowed eligibility to the presidency, being under a ban not dissimilar to the poet-phobia of Plato's republic. If James Hannay, who introduced the umbrella in London a little over 200 years ago, or one like him, should put up one in a city in this Utopia of 2000 A.D., the hoodlums might reasonably chase him with ridicule, as Hannay himself was served. For an umbrella, of course, would be superfluous here, where government has a system of co-operative banyan-tree-like awnings, which are made to drop over the sidewalk when it rains. But when you cross a street or square, or travel in the country, one must judge, from the silence of the book, that you can afford to get wet.

It is almost pathetic to see anyone who has any insight into human nature, any sense of historical perspective, or any knowledge of the accumulated experience of the human race, sit down and put on paper the absurd human paradise here exhibited, as being so eligible, desirable, and, more improbable than all, so near at hand. The whole history of socialism, so far, shows where its temporary success has been greatest; that it can only go at all with a few picked persons united for a single definite and narrow purpose, dominated by the force of a single master-spirit and thrilled by an ecstasy-prompting religious creed. But time dissolves even these societies, few in number, in each instance with its remorseless acid. The mordant which holds them together often becomes the prime factor, too,

in their destruction. Complex marriage, which made the Oneida community, and which was devised to abolish selfishness utterly, was the one thing which hastened most its downfall into the common place of ordinary life. The Shakers still exist unchanged, but their celibacy, so powerful one way in making them, has already become the agency which now visibly hurries them to inevitable sociological fossilry. There is not one in the whole list of social experiments of which anything better can be said.

How, then, with human nature as it is and not as we imagine it ought to be, can the one hundred or more millions of the next century in this country be molded together, like the dough of macaroni, into one common substance? Thrift and unthrift, soberness and debauchery, virtue and vice, genius and imbecility, industry and idleness, wealth and poverty are to be driven from the dictionary by social device and legal statute; and if we only mix and knead these ingredients in the right way, we are to expect a pure product, marked by culture, virtue, and happiness. Humanity, in other words, with all its idiosyncracies and types, is to be so purified and regenerated as to surpass, in a few years, immeasurably all that the slow steps of toiling centuries of civilization have hitherto achieved. The United States will then be a great nation, having brought most of the leading nations to follow it into its mechanical millenium, when the coat of arms might well be for all, we should say, an emblazoned bag of very small white beans.

In spite of the author's complacent and fluent explanation that human nature had not been changed in the new life outlined, and that everything perfect was evolved out of everything imperfect, and with marvelous celerity, we beg leave to doubt his smooth and amiable diagnosis. Everything points, as the only hopeful solution and betterment of existing human conditions, to the road which runs oppositely from his ideal. It is to the individual that society must look for regeneration, and not to society as

an entity. There is no better way to help mankind than that indicated by Carlyle's maxim: "Reform yourself, reader, and you can then be sure there will be one less rascal in the world." It takes time, to be sure, for this progress to be perfected; but there is nothing in creation or history that shows their molder to be excited epileptically, or to be in a hurry. When Tennyson wrote: "Better fifty years of Europe than a cycle of Cathay," he struck no greater contrast than there is between one's own master-hood of himself, though with aims unreached, and his subjection to a relentless machine, with food, clothing and shelter guaranteed. As Hawthorne was revolted when at Brook Farm with the perpetual cleaning of stables and "milking transcendental heifers," so should we all be with an enforced cast-iron material happiness from which personality and freedom are eliminated. The face of humanity turns itself toward no such Buddhistic terrestrial Nirvana as the Bellamites (better described by making the first "l" a "d") are imagining. It would be a paradise which, if it could come, would need no flaming sword to drive us out; for the intolerable, brain-softening ennui of it would extinguish *it* and the human race together.

In conclusion, I wish to submit, without explaining precisely how it came into my hands, part of an editorial upon "Looking Backward" (from advance sheets, of course), which the reader, if hypnotized and kept alive long enough, can read in its entirety in the Boston *Palladium* of January 1st, 2000:

"A DREAM OF A CENTURY AGO.—A friend of ours who has a keen scent for odd things of the past, while fumbling over a shelf of dusty old books in the Boston Atheneum came upon a curious old volume a few days since that has a special interest just now. It is entitled "Looking Backward," but it is really the author's look forward, in which he gives for the interest of his contemporaries a prophecy of what our present century is like, socially and otherwise, and shows how it came to be the millenium. The reader will smile somewhat audibly, we suspect, when

he goes over the brief synopsis we have made of this prophetic story, and will wish that Mr. Bellamy himself might be materialized back to us to see for himself just what a hundred years have accomplished. He would be surprised to find that not only sickness and death are still in fashion, but wealth and poverty are also. The wisdom of Ecclesiastes and Shakespeare's insight into human nature fit our age as perfectly as they described the long procession of the race before us. And it is true yet, in a sense, as Solomon remarked, that there is nothing new under the sun. Betterment of many things there is; but there has been no disorderly kangaroo leap in evolution, history or economics. We have civil service reform, and have dispensed with mountainous hindrances to trade; the scale of human comfort has gone up higher for every class, until the vast interests of commerce between every nation have practically made the mere thought of war seem impossible. But in all that has been achieved—and it is no small sum—the advance has come by purely orderly processes, such as were working in the nineteenth century, and all centuries, and which anyone but a dreamer might have taken ample note of.

"It is strange that Mr. Bellamy had so slight a conception of what science was to do. He did not even perceive that, by our new extension of human sight through the far-vision tube, we bring the moon within a few miles of us, and have discovered that Mars is inhabited. He saw nothing beyond the printing press; and yet this is now, under our new system of making the *Palladium* edition, or a book, in five minutes, as utterly superseded as was the old spinning-wheel in his time.

"The nineteenth century seems to us now as one noted not simply for skepticism, as some writers say, but quite as well for limitless stretches of bald credulity.

"We cannot, of course, write a homily for this author, for he and his era have passed. But he has successors who might profit by his errors, if they only would. And to all such nostrum makers we can only say that there has never yet been an iota of progress achieved by punishing thrift and exalting laziness, or by convincing the individual that society owes him something wonderful out of which he is being defrauded; when the truth is, it is the individual that owes society all the account there is unset-

tled. And another lesson we may as well add, which we owe the expression of below to a pungent writer of Mr. Bellamy's era, one Thomas Carlyle.

"'Pity!' exclaims Sauerteig once, 'that a nation cannot reform itself by what the newspapers call tremendous cheers. Reform is not joyous, but grievous; no single man can reform himself without stern suffering and stern working; how much less can a nation of men?'

"And in another place this same writer says: 'Can the sublimest sanhedrim, constitutional parliament or other collective wisdom of the world, persuade fire not to burn, sulphuric acid to be sweet milk, or the moon to become green cheese? The fact is much the reverse; and even the constitutional British Parliament abstains from such arduous attempts. Which is undisputedly wise of the British Parliament.'"

People, therefore, who sing dithyrambs over some immense reform, or who expect improbabilities from civil law and new-fangled social mechanism, will still find, when twenty more centuries have passed, that these utterances hold the immutable truth beyond cavil or question.

JOEL BENTON.

Temperance Saloons.

There are scarcely less than ten thousand places in New York City where spirits and beer are sold. Excluding the better class of resorts, hotels, restaurants, cafes and the more pretentious saloons, to the number, perhaps, of five hundred, the others are willing to extort the last dime of any drunken tramp or other loafer, as long as he is not sufficiently riotous to challenge the club of the not too officious policeman. It is probably not an exaggeration to say that every night one hundred thousand men and women in this great metropolis go to bed far from sober, if not flagrantly tipsy. Those more reputable citizens, not called by pleasure or business away from the main thoroughfares at night, cannot conceive of the Saturnalia carried on in some of the East Side districts after the lamps begin to shine, especially on a Saturday, when men feel rich with their week's wages and correspondingly thirsty.

Should the demon of strong drink materialize at any time at a gentleman's dinner-party, or in the clubs and cafes of upper swelldom, it is Mephisto in full court dress, smirking with the grace of the accomplished comedian. When we encounter him in his more congenial haunts, typified in the Cherry Street dive, the versatile fiend shows robust and shameless, naked to the skin, hide, horns and hoof in full view, reeking with the smells of the pit. It is no question, then, of the sophistries of Vanity Fair, but of getting down to "hard pan," the tap-root of the thing, the honest, square-toed bibbing that makes "drunk" come. However easily we may span the arch between the refinements of the uptown cafe and the cheap groggeries where we call a spade a spade, it is in the latter, of course, that we search for the familiar object lessons of the horrors of the drink habit. Here it is that man (perhaps woman)

kicks free from the social bond and travels far back to the original biped of Mr. Darwin.

The natural deduction from this would be that the appetite for strong drink is unquenchable, as pitiless as Laocoön's serpents, and very generally diffused among those known as the lower classes. Yet when we come to look more closely into the motives of the frequenters of beer shops and groggeries, we may fancy exaggeration in so sweeping a charge. The drinking saloon may be viewed in two aspects. The rigid moralist who is a doctrinaire in his theories can only see in it an ever-flowing fountain of damnation for soul and body, the source of unspeakable woes, the feeder of every vice and crime. The critic who studies life from a more genial standpoint, while partially agreeing with the other, may also recognize the saloon as the poor man's club-house, the doors of which hospitably welcome him to a scene of light, gaiety and companionship. True, the light is often dingy, the gaiety a trifle ghastly, the companionship more than questionable, but there is the ring of a laugh in it all and something to divert a jaded body and mind. Assuredly Lazarus has a right to his club-house as well as Dives, even pending his supposed reward in Abraham's bosom.

The life of the man who is obliged to obtain his right to exist by physical labor is at the best a hard one. He lacks the solace which he who works with his brains so often possesses—a keen delight in the work itself. He returns home at night with an aching body to a lodging in a tenement house, where, if a married man, he finds a wife as tired and listless as himself with a hard day's toil, and utterly unfitted to contribute to his recreation. If he is a single man his surroundings are perhaps even more squalid and repulsive, for the presence of a woman generally lends some little touch of comfort and refinement to relieve the aspect of sordid poverty. The craving for diversion is irresistible. Life can't be quite all work and sleep. The concert hall or a variety show means an admission fee

which can probably be but ill spared. The liquor saloon or beer shop now puts forward a most seductive claim. Light, warmth, the friendly chat, amusing stories, the music of an orchestrion, piano or itinerant harpers, in many cases the daily and weekly newspapers, a free lunch, and often a seat at a table are there. To all this he is welcomed for the price of a glass of lager or bad whiskey by a smiling and friendly host. To those who have carefully looked into the question it is clear that the saloons are more than half supported by those who do not patronize them primarily, or even chiefly, because they drink intoxicating liquors. They are impelled by a need which is in itself not only innocent, but grows out of something worthy and commendable. Many a time what begins in the mere longing for companionship and change after a day of dreary toil ends in a roaring debauch.

Philanthropy which fires in the air or bays at the moon is more than useless. It is the mistake which is worse than the crime, for it is the waste of noble purpose. The problem for temperance agitation to solve is not to abolish the saloon, but to transform it; in other words, to replace the groggery, where drunkards are manufactured, by the temperance saloon, or restaurant, or club-room where workingmen can beguile their evenings and refresh their minds with amusements that shall be both harmless and attractive, as well as supply the material needs of the body. This problem has met with great attention in England recently and the results are most encouraging. The "Palace of Delight," built at large cost in the Whitechapel district in London, in answer to the interest awakened by Walter Besant's remarkable novel, "All Sorts and Conditions of Men," has led the way to extensive experiments in different English cities. General Booth has had much to say on this subject in the book which recently excited so much attention, "In Darkest England," and the large sums of money which came in in response to his presentation of the needs of the city poor have been partly devoted to the es-

tablishment of innocent pleasure resorts and temperance restaurants. Yet before Besant and Booth the problem had begun to get itself worked out.

Practical men at once insist that places planned to accomplish reforms of this kind successfully must rest on a business basis and be made self-supporting. In this way only can the recipients of the benefits bestowed preserve their self-respect, and a steady income be guaranteed. The temperance coffee-house system in many of the large English cities has attained a scale of success which fully justifies the prophecies made of its value and usefulness. In this country barely a beginning has been made, but what has been so well accomplished in England can certainly be done in America, where the conditions are not greatly dissimilar.

Some years ago an attempt was made in New York to form a company with \$150,000 capital for the purpose of organizing and running a number of these institutions, but for some reason the enterprise was never carried out. A tentative scheme, however, is now in operation under the auspices of Calvary parish and of the Church Temperance Society, whose secretary, Mr. Robert Graham, is the active presiding genius of the work. This place is at 338 East Twenty-third Street, and is known as the Gallilee Coffee House and Club. It is located in a four-story brick building, all of which is devoted to the enterprise. An excellent restaurant, with a perfectly equipped kitchen, storeroom, etc., at the back, occupies the first floor. This is calculated to feed between 500 and 600 people a day. One may obtain a really excellent dinner of three courses here for fifteen cents. The meat, vegetables, etc., are the best the market can afford, and are admirably cooked, though the dishes, of which there is amply variety, are plain and simply served. Of its kind the cuisine is all that could be desired. On the second floor are three goodly sized rooms where may be found a small library, all the newspapers and magazines, a billiard table, and room for

cards, draughts, chess, letter writing, etc.—in a word, what a gentleman expects to find on a more luxurious scale at his club. The next floor is given up to lodging rooms and the upper story is devoted to the servants of the institution.

The enterprise, in fact, has all the essentials of a club, adding to it a public restaurant, where excellent and wholesome dishes are sold at a preposterously low price. Open from 7 A.M. to 9 P.M., it is liberally patronized by the classes for whom it is designed. The writer of this article lunched there, and was served with delicious pea soup, excellent roast beef, potatoes, onions and spinach, and strawberries and cream, all in generous portions, for twenty-seven cents. No restaurant could have given better cooking. The patrons come in their shirt sleeves and with their shop aprons on, but their demeanor is in every respect orderly and decent. There is no question that accommodations for twice the number in this locality would be amply taxed. Tea and coffee of the best, soda water, lemonade, and other harmless temperance drinks are served, both in restaurant and club rooms. For the privileges of the billiard tables in the club a trifle has to be paid, and a small monthly fee of twenty-five cents is charged as club dues. The plan has been from the start to make the place in both departments self-supporting. No permanent scheme of benefitting the poor, except in the case of hospitals, has ever succeeded on any other basis.

Another similar institution has been successfully organized in Jersey City in connection with the Tabernacle Church, and is known as the People's Palace. Here all kinds of innocent amusements, ten-pins, billiards, and other games, besides temperance drinks of every description, tea, coffee, cocoa, chocolate, lemonade, etc., are furnished at a price which is a mere bagatelle. Again, in Philadelphia there is a very successful and popular temperance saloon; but in neither of the two latter examples of the new crusade against alcoholism, we believe, is the attempt made to introduce the club plan which is operated

in connection with the Gallilee Coffee House in this city. Enough has been shown by these temperance saloons, which long since ceased to be experiments, to prove their perfect practicability in large American cities. The far-reaching importance of them, if projected on a sufficiently big scale, can hardly be made too emphatic.

The Temperance Club and Coffee House movement in England took active shape in 1871. Strange to say, the idea was suggested by the American evangelist, Dwight L. Moody, and it took root and grew with great rapidity till now in Liverpool alone, the city where the first cocoa tavern was instituted, there are sixty-five of these places. Birmingham, however, which has the reputation of possessing the best municipal government of any city in the world, leads the van in the costliness and perfection of appointments which have been reached in developing the idea. The Cobden is a building of great architectural beauty, and furnished with the decorative taste and luxury of a first-class hotel. London has its Toynbee Hall, Oxford House and numerous similar resorts, where workingmen can find recreation for mind and body at rates compatible with small wages. Many of these structures cost from £10,000 to £20,000, and much of the stock is owned by wealthy men, principally manufacturers and merchants, who have found it to their advantage to provide such comfortable and attractive "loafing places" for men in their employment. As investments they have proved very profitable, in spite of the fact that prices are reduced to the lowest figure. The companies are among the best dividend paying concerns in Great Britain, most of them returning not less than ten per cent. and some much more. It is a curious fact that enterprises organized originally from a purely philanthropic motive should prove to be so profitable financially, and it is probably one reason why they have spread with such rapidity from one end to the other of the United Kingdom.

One of the most interesting developments of the general plan is that followed by a wealthy London tea merchant, Mr. Buchanan. Leaving his palatial surroundings at the West End, he settled amidst the sordid poverty of Whitechapel, where he could personally overlook the working of his project. He established "Tee-to-tums," people's tea houses, where tea, cake, buns, etc., are sold to the poor, just as rich brewers in New York own the majority of the lager beer saloons where their beer is sold. These places have proved an enormous success in every way, little centers of temperance and good morals in the midst of a seething world of squalor, vice and wretchedness.

The history of the temperance saloon and club movement in Great Britain shows one of the most curious and significant movements of the age. It has grown swiftly and surely, and has already in its less than twenty years of life become a most important factor in its combat against intemperance. Why it has not drawn more attention on this side of the Atlantic is difficult to see. It is so practical and logical, its business success as a mere venture has proven so sure in England, and its influence for the salvation of the poor has been so marked, that it would seem natural for a keen-witted and philanthropic people such as ours to have long since taken it in hand and bettered the instruction. The places which we have cited have been fully successful in their small way. But they do not compare with the feeblest of their English analogues in the equipment and thoroughness of their working machinery.

The war recently begun by Rev. Dr. Parkhurst against the liquor saloon interest in New York, and the charges of collusion and blackmail made by him against the administration of the police force, have stirred a subject with an iron-toothed harrow where public interest had become callous and dormant. The languid fillip of the leader-writer beating his brain for a topic had scarcely scratched the surface. Where public opinion behind law goes to sleep, statutes are blank cartridges. But recreative forces

are even better than energy of repression. Now that a powerful movement has put sting and quickening into things half dead in social soil, the time should be ripe for something more than enforcing a negative.

The suggestion of Rev. Dr. Rainsford looking to a carefully regulated saloon system for the sale of intoxicants of the milder sort, to be launched under the auspices of the church or other philanthropic body, is likely to fire the most bitter controversy and opposition. But in favor of the temperance saloon and club house plan all classes of honest-minded reformers can join hands and hearts and work with the will, which will make the way. Aside from the direct appeal which the establishment of such pleasure resorts on a large scale brings home to the lover of good and hater of evil, the lesson of English success is eloquent of fat dividends for the philanthropic capitalist. The opportunity is a grand one for the Carnegies and the Rockefellers, who ache to lavish their surplus millions, which breed so fast, for the public benefit.

G. T. FERRIS.

Edward Atkinson and His Economic Methods.

II.

In our last issue we discussed Mr. Atkinson's method of treating economic questions. We shall now consider his application of this method to the subject of protection and free trade, in his series of articles in the *New York Times* under the title of "Taxation and Workers." As a sort of foundation for his attack upon the American system of protection, and advocacy of free trade, he gives a brief review of the history of England under protection, with a view of showing that the protective policy reduced England to the verge of starvation, and that free trade alone raised her to the front rank of prosperity, and says:

"A very common but utterly erroneous idea prevails in this country that Great Britain only gave up the system technically called protection when by means of this system she had attained conditions of great prosperity and a substantially commanding position in manufactures and commerce. The very reverse is true. The protective system was given up by Great Britain under the pressure of pauperism and bankruptcy. . . . The protective system, which was supported with a view to rendering the country independent of foreign sources of supply, and thus, it was hoped, fostering the growth of a home trade, had most effectually destroyed that trade by reducing the entire population to beggary, destitution and want. The masses of the population were unable to procure food, and had consequently nothing to spend upon British manufactures."

From this statement one would suppose that at some unnamed time England had occupied a very high position of prosperity, from which she had been reduced by a protective policy, reaching zero about 1840. "The entire population" was reduced, says Mr. Atkinson, "to beggary, destitution and want. The masses of the population were

unable to procure food." How much this reminds one of Henry George's sweeping assertion that "the enormous increase of productive power which has marked the present century has no tendency to extirpate poverty or lighten the burdens of those compelled to toil"; and the socialists' proclamation that the poor grow poorer as the wealth of the rich increases, the utter fallacy of which nobody should know better than Mr. Atkinson. It is no more true of England that the entire population was *reduced* to beggary in 1840, or that the people were worse off then than at the commencement of the century, than it is true that the laborers of America grow poorer as our capitalists grow richer. Much as all friends of progress may deplore the condition of English laborers at the middle of the century, and at the present time, for that matter, there is no evidence that they had been reduced from a better condition. On the contrary, facts show that their condition improved, slowly, to be sure, but improved with every step in the advance of civilization. There as here and everywhere else there are special periods when disturbances occur that seem for the time being to be steps backward, but no decade, and certainly no quarter of a century, can be taken in which the mass of the people of England were worse off than in any preceding period.

It is unquestionably true that from the middle of the fifteenth to the close of the seventeenth century the wage class in England made very little if any real advance, but in that poorest of all periods in English history for progress they did not go backward, and since the advent of the factory system their advance has been marked and continuous. It is one thing to describe a given condition as being bad, and quite another to speak of it as being worse than previous periods. Compared with 1892, the condition of English laborers in 1850 was of course deplorable, but compared with 1792 it was relatively opulent. It will be observed that it is in this comparative sense that Mr. Atkinson, like Henry George and the socialists, speaks

of the condition of the British laborers. He is not content with saying they were badly off in 1840, but that they were *reduced* from some very much superior condition "to beggary, destitution and want."

It is to be regretted that Mr. Atkinson did not think it worth while to give some facts to sustain this statement. As it is, all statistics and reputable investigators are against him. Tooke, Porter, Leoni Levi, Mulhall and Rogers all show the opposite of what Mr. Atkinson affirms. Rogers emphatically assures us that real wages were much higher in 1840 than at the beginning of the century. He says:*

"Though wages were said to have been less in the twenty years between 1820 and 1840 than they were in the previous twenty years, it is admitted that the intrinsic value of these wages, as measured by the purchasing power, was greatly increased." He then cites the figures of Leoni Levi, showing that from 1800 to 1820 a given quantity of seven chief necessities of life cost 232.5 shillings, and the daily wages of artisans were 55.25 pence, while from 1820 to 1840 the same quantity of the same necessities cost only 146.35 shillings and the daily wages were 62.72 pence. In other words, the average wages from 1820 to 1840 were 13.52 per cent. higher and prices 37.05 per cent. lower than in the previous twenty years.

John Wade, in his "History of the Middle and Working Classes" (p. 166), gives a table of the prices of wheat and the weekly wages of carpenters, bricklayers, masons, plumbers and other domestic artificers, the price of wheat per quarter, and also the equivalent of wages in pints of wheat for every year from 1495 to 1840 inclusive. From this table it appears that wheat was 79 shillings and nine-pence a quarter in 1800, and 66 shillings and fourpence a quarter in 1840. Wages were 18 shillings a week in 1800, and 33 shillings in 1840. Measured in pints of wheat, wages were 116 in 1800 and 255 in 1840. Measured by their purchasing power in wheat, therefore, wages were

* *Work and Wages*, p. 504.

over 90 per cent. higher in 1840 than they were in 1800. In other words, money wages were 80 per cent. higher, and their purchasing power in wheat was 90 per cent. greater, in 1840 than in 1800. And taking the whole forty years by decades, we find the purchasing power of wages steadily increased thus; from 1800 to 1810 a week's wages would purchase 151.33 pints of wheat; from 1810 to 1820, 174.50 pints; from 1820 to 1830, 285.50 pints; from 1830 to 1840, 315.88 pints. These facts are also confirmed by Mulhall's investigations,* which show that the price of a specific quantity of wheat, butter, beef, sugar, iron, coffee, cotton, wool and tea from 1821 to 1850 was 727, as compared with 900 in 1780-1800, a fall of over 19 per cent., and the price of manufactures fell about 45 per cent. during the same period. In the face of such facts, Mr. Atkinson's statement that protection reduced the "entire population to beggary, destitution and want" shows how heedless one may become when committed to the advocacy of a hobby. Such careless misreading of history, however, cannot help any cause in the long run.

We do not wish to give the impression that the period immediately following 1840 was a specially prosperous one, any more than those of 1837-'47-'57-'67-'73 or '85 were specially prosperous periods in Ameria. It was one of the periods known as an industrial depression, not peculiar to England, but existing simultaneously in France, Belgium, Germany and this country, being co-extensive with the factory system. Moreover, there have been five similar periods of industrial depression in England under free trade, namely, 1857-'67-'73-'83-'85, and they are suffering from another now. A study of the economic history of England during this period, unbiased by political partisanship, shows the case to be almost the opposite of what Mr. Atkinson has represented.

To be sure, the protective policy of Great Britain was applied very rudely, and without reference to any economic

* "Dictionary of Statistics," p. 372.

principle, as it has been to a large extent in this country. It not only prevented foreign products from entering England without paying a high duty, but it prohibited the exportation of English machinery, so as to secure a monopoly of steam-driven methods. That this gave England practically half a century's start in manufacturing industries is beyond question, and that this superiority in machinery gave her the mastery of the world's markets is equally obvious. It is well known that when England adopted free trade she could do so with reference to her manufactures without in the slightest degree jeopardizing her market, except in one or two minor industries, like silk, because her superior machinery enabled her to produce at a less cost than any other country, notwithstanding that some of them paid much lower wages. What she wanted was cheap food supplies from the continent and a foreign market for her manufactures, but her ability to thus undersell the world in manufactured products was developed under a highly protective policy. Not that it was all due to that policy. On the contrary, it was largely due to the development of the factory system, which had its rise in an entirely different set of influences.

It is true that by 1850 free trade became almost essential to England's further industrial development. Not, however, because she had been reduced to "pauperism and bankruptcy" by protection, but because through her cheap labor policy she had checked the growth of her home consumption, and consequently was forced to seek foreign markets for the increased products of her protected factory system. The story of the life of English operatives during the first half of the century, the conditions under which they were compelled to labor from fourteen to sixteen hours a day, and live in cellars, is familiar to students of that period, as is also the attitude of Mr. Atkinson's school of political economists toward that condition. Inspired by the cheap labor doctrine, arising from the theory that "profits fall as wages rise," English capitalists, supported by the

Manchester school doctrinaires, effectually resisted for a third of a century nearly all social improvement for the masses. Every effort, by legislation or otherwise, to shorten their hours of labor, improve the sanitary condition of their workshops and homes, and promote education, met with their persistent opposition. It was only by the almost revolutionary efforts of the more energetic workingmen, aided by the Chartists, Christian socialists and Tory philanthropists, that the opposition of Cobden, Bright and their free trade followers was overcome, and the labor legislation secured which has done so much for English laborers during the last forty years.

This almost deadly check upon the increase of the consumption of manufactured products by the masses of course prevented the growth of the home market from keeping pace with an increased productive capacity of factories, and made foreign markets indispensable to England's further industrial development. Thus free trade did not come in England as the natural result of industrial evolution, but as an expedient to escape industrial paralysis, induced not by protection, but by the systematic restriction of the social advance of the masses, and the consequent failure of her home market to grow commensurately with the improved machinery developed under her protective policy.

Nor is Mr. Atkinson's lack of economic accuracy less observable in his statements regarding the economic condition of other countries. Speaking of Germany, he repeats substantially what he has said of England, and regards free trade as the only means of "relief from the standing armies that are eating out the very heart of Europe." Now, everybody knows that the heart is not being eaten out of Europe at all. There may be altogether more money spent on standing armies in Europe than is necessary, and a considerable portion of the taxes are thus directed into channels that yield but the minimum benefit to society, but to say the very heart is being eaten out of

Europe, which of course means that conditions are growing worse, is to mistake the most obvious facts and tendencies of the last forty years. There is no nation in Europe, with the exception of Turkey and perhaps Portugal, which has not made great industrial and political advance during the last half century, both money wages and their purchasing power having definitely increased. The truth is they have shared the general advancement of this machine-using period in proportion as they have developed manufacturing or steam-using industries. Thus, for instance, according to the report of the United States Commissioner of Labor for 1886, the average wages in eighteen leading mechanical industries in Paris were seventy-seven cents per day in 1853, and in 1882 they were \$1.25 per day. In the principal cities of France, outside of Paris, the average wages in the same industries in 1853 were forty cents per day, and in 1882 they were sixty-seven cents per day. In Germany, taking the official returns for nineteen industries, including spinners, weavers, winders, carders, firemen, laborers, machinists, carpenters, joiners, masons, etc., in the Rhine district, which are complete for every year from 1855 to 1885, we find that the average fortnightly wages in 1855 were \$3.05, and in 1885 they were \$5.80. The contention, therefore, that protection reduced England to beggary, and is now eating the heart out of Europe, is entirely refuted by the facts, which not only show that these disastrous effects were not produced by tariffs, but happily that they never existed at all. But why does Mr. Atkinson use his imagination so much?

Of course Mr. Atkinson's picture of the havoc protection wrought in Europe was only presented as a warning of what may be expected in America, unless we speedily abandon our present policy. After assuring us that "like causes produce like effects," he proceeds to point out that the baneful work has already begun, and that the people are revolting against its impoverishing effect. In Article Seven he describes how the Pennsylvania miners are robbed

by the tariff, and exclaims: "There are ironmasters in the State of Pennsylvania whose single incomes in a single year have exceeded the whole sum earned by the protected iron miners." Just as if the smallness of miners' wages and the largeness of successful ironmasters' incomes were fixed by the tariff, a false inference which is as contrary to economic law as it is stimulating to anarchy and revolution.

After further describing the impoverishing effect of protection, he says:

"From every side and from every department of industry comes up the word, 'we have asked for bread, and you have given us a stone. You have promised us greater activity; we are subject to depression. You held out the expectation of better prices for our farm products, especially for our wool and cotton, and you have brought about conditions in which we are being forced to take less for many products that we have to sell and to pay more for much that we have to buy.'

What a cruel law of prices we must have in this country. To make the price of what one buys rise, and of what one sells fall would indeed be little short of satanic. Happily, however, such a thing is impossible. It is needless to say that if everybody sells cheaply everybody must buy cheaply, and conversely if consumers pay high prices producers receive high prices. Economic forces cannot be made to play at "heads I win and tails you lose," even for the purposes of a campaign.

His articles abound with many similar expressions, tending to show that laborers are robbed by the high prices and low wages caused by the protective system. Fortunately in this instance it is not necessary to call any other witnesses. We have only to quote Mr. Atkinson against himself. No man in this country has written more to show that during the last twenty years, which has been a high tariff period, laborers have been getting a constantly increasing proportion of an increased product. He says:^{*} "In proportion to the increase of capital the absolute

* "The Distribution of Products," p. 90.

share (of the product) falling to capital has augmented, but the relative share has diminished, while the share of the laborer has increased both absolutely and relatively." And in Article Fourteen of the series under consideration he assures us that:

"Since 1880 there has been a marked increase in the rates of wages or earnings of all occupied for gain above the grade of common laborers. So far as the writer has been able to obtain the data, this advance in rates of wages may be estimated at from ten to thirty per cent., as compared to the rates of 1880, the proportionate advance in each class being in ratio to the relative skill required in the work. The wages of the common laborer have not advanced very much, but he has been rendered able to buy more for his wages on account of the reduction in prices; the skilled laborer has secured the highest rates of earnings ever known in this or any other country."

If this be robbing the poor, and "giving a stone for bread," then the more we have of it the better. But comment is unnecessary.

Of course this confusion and inconsistency regarding economic history and contemporaneous facts is not due to willful misrepresentation, but to an unacquaintance with economic principle and a consequent misunderstanding of industrial phenomena. It would be as reasonable to expect a person properly to analyze poisonous compounds who is ignorant of chemistry as to correctly interpret industrial history without a knowledge of economic principle. It is proverbial that social reformers unacquainted with economics generally make little account of facts. Henry George, Bellamy and socialists generally continue to declare that laborers are worse off to-day than they were fifty years ago, although the contrary has been demonstrated to them over and over again. They are governed by the notion, that since what is is far from being good enough, it is therefore worse than what has been, which is not true.

Similarly Mr. Atkinson denounces protection and advocates free trade, not upon any established principle in economics or social progress, but upon the abstract idea that whatever restricts is wrong, and *vice versa*. He thinks free trade an ideal system because "it requires no force; it is what men engage in of their own motive." Just as if what men do of their own motive always constitutes the highest rule of action! Nothing could be further from the truth. Almost every step in the advance of civilization has required restrictive force on the part of society to protect itself against "what men engage in of their own motive." In fact, protection has been the chief function of government since the dawn of society. It was the need of protection that brought government into existence. The object of every legal institution for which armies, policemen and judiciary systems are maintained throughout the civilized world is to furnish protection in some form or other. To repudiate protection because it restricts is to repudiate government itself, which is pure anarchy. The fact that a policy does or does not require force to introduce it has nothing to do with determining its economic and social utility. The science of government is the science of promoting what benefits society and protecting it against what is injurious. And to advocate free trade on any other basis is absurd.

The more definitely Mr. Atkinson states his scheme for inaugurating free trade, the more manifest his false economics become. In laying down a general basis for adopting free trade he says: "That country in which the rates of wages are the highest has the greatest motive for establishing free trade with all others, whatever the tariff system of other countries may be." This no doubt seemed necessary in order to justify free trade for this country, since wages are higher here than anywhere else, but a more complete reversal of the true order would be difficult to state. If the highest wages need least protection, then the lowest wages need the most. On this line of

reasoning China, India and Patagonia need protecting, but against what? The high wages of America and England? Just as well say savagery needs protection against civilization, and piracy against honest commerce. On the contrary, protection in every form, physical, moral, religious, political and industrial, has always been needed and should always be furnished to guard the better against the worse, the higher against the lower. Therefore, instead of that country needing least protection which has the highest wages, that is the very country that most needs protection, for the simple reason that it has something to protect, something worth saving. Laws for the protection of property are only needed where people have property. We need to protect only that which we are in danger of losing. High civilization, therefore, needs to be most jealously guarded, and the laborers of a country that pays highest wages are most deeply interested in maintaining economic protection.

Democracy, Past and Present.

In reading those sections of the Democratic platform of 1892 which declare that the Democratic party adheres to the principles expounded by Jefferson and Jackson, and then almost in the same breath state it to be a fundamental principle of that party that the national government has no constitutional authority to impose tariff duties, "except for the purpose of revenue only," one is forced to pause and ask himself whether the men who drafted this document could really have been aware of the enormity of the falsehood they were telling, and, if they did know, whom they expected to deceive by mendacity of such a glaring and gauzy character?

No student of history, indeed, no intelligent reader of the current literature of the day can help knowing that the views of both Jefferson and Jackson were as diametrically opposed to those of the present-day Democrats as two things can well be. As to the constitutionality of protective tariff laws, it is within the range of reasonable certainty that such men as Washington, Jefferson, Madison and the like, who themselves drew up the Constitution, knew something more as to the real intent and purpose of that document, which was simply the embodiment of their ideas, than do Democratic politicians of to-day; nor can it be claimed that these men would have urged the passage of protective tariff bills, as they did, if they knew them to be unconstitutional. Therefore, the best way to determine whether or not such laws are in agreement with the true meaning of the Constitution is to examine the expressions of opinion upon the subject left us by these great men, although, after the recent decision of the United States Supreme Court, the Democratic claims would be revolutionary if they were not ridiculous. Perhaps the most conclusive bit of evidence that can be brought to bear upon

this subject is the following extract from the first tariff act, passed by the First Congress, without party division, signed by President Washington, and approved by Jefferson:

“Whereas, it is necessary for the support of the government, the discharge of the debts of the United States, and for the encouragement and protection of manufacturers, that duties be laid on goods, wares and merchandise imported. Therefore,” etc.

This shows to a certainty that the members of the First Congress who voted for the above, and Washington, who signed it, were convinced that they had constitutional power to act as they did, and it cannot be gainsaid that they were in a position to know. Then, as to Jefferson alone, the following are a few of his many utterances upon the matter in hand:

“To cultivate peace, to foster our fisheries, and to protect the manufactures adapted to our circumstances, these, fellow citizens, are the land-marks by which we are to guide ourselves in all our proceedings.”—*Jefferson's Second Annual Message to Congress*.

“The question now comes forward: To what other objects shall these surpluses (revenue surpluses) be appropriated, and the whole surplus after the entire discharge of the public debt? Shall we suppress the impost, and give the advantage to foreign manufactures? Patriotism would certainly prefer its continuance.”—*Jefferson's Sixth Annual Message*.

“Experience has taught me that manufactures are now as necessary to our independence as to our comfort; and if those who quote me as of a different opinion will keep pace with me in purchasing nothing foreign, where an equivalent domestic fabric can be obtained, without regard to difference in price, it will not be our fault if we do not have a supply at home equal to our demand, and wrest the weapon of distress from the hand which has so long wantonly wielded it.”—*Jefferson's Letter to Benjamin Austin*.

It almost seems as though he had an advance copy of the present pernicious Democratic platform before him as he wrote. But in regard to the simple matter of the

constitutionality of protective tariffs, Jackson answers the present claims of the Democratic party with telling force:

"The power to impose duties on imports originally belonged to the several states. The right to adjust those duties with a view to the encouragement of domestic branches of industry is so completely identical with that power that it is difficult to suppose the existence of one without the other. The states have delegated their authority over imports to the general government without limitation or restriction, saving the very inconsiderable reservation relating to their inspection laws. This authority having entirely passed from the states, the right to exercise it for the purpose of protection does not exist in them; and, consequently, if it be not possessed by the general government, it must be extinct.

Our political system would then present the anomaly of a people stripped of the right to foster their own industry, and to counteract the most selfish and destructive policy which might be adopted by foreign nations. This surely cannot be the case; this indispensable power, thus surrendered by the states, must be within the scope of authority on the subject expressly delegated to Congress.

In this conclusion I am confirmed as well by the opinion of Presidents Washington, Jefferson, Madison and Monroe, who have recommended the exercise of this right under the Constitution, as by the uniform practice of Congress, the continued acquiescence of the states, and the general understanding of the people."—*Jackson's Second Annual Message to Congress.*

Surely it cannot be denied that Jackson was in a position to know something about the "fundamental principles" of the Democratic party. And, besides, the very platform upon which he was elected to the presidency contained the following:

"Resolved, That an adequate protection to American industry is indispensable to the prosperity of the country."

How does all this compare with the following extract from the Democratic platform:

"We declare it to be a fundamental principle of the Democratic party that the Federal Government has no

power to impose and collect tariff duties, except for the purpose of revenue only."

Truly the ignorance of the Chicago delegates, or their belief in the ignorance of their countrymen, must have been great indeed. It is, however, true that there has always been a section of the Democratic party with whom it has been a "fundamental principle" that protective tariffs are not constitutional. The following are some of the official utterances on this question:

"Whereas, The Congress of the United States, by various acts purporting to be acts laying duties and imposts on foreign imports, but in reality intended for the protection of domestic manufacturers, . . . hath exceeded its just powers under the Constitution. We, therefore, the people of the State of South Carolina, in convention assembled, do declare and ordain . . . that the several acts and parts of acts of the Congress of the United States, purporting to be laws for the imposing of duties and imposts on the importation of foreign commodities, . . . are unauthorized by the Constitution of the United States, and violate the true meaning and intent thereof, and are null, void, no law."—*Ordinance of Nullification passed by South Carolina, through Delegates in Convention, November 27, 1832.*

"The Congress shall have the power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises for revenue necessary to pay the debts, provide for the common defense, and carry on the government of the Confederate States, but no bounties shall be granted from the Treasury, nor shall any duties or taxes upon importations from foreign nations be laid, to promote or foster any branch of industry."—*Confederate Constitution.*

Both of these documents are identical in meaning with the present Democratic platform. Do the leaders of the Democracy wish us to believe that those sections of that party which plotted nullification in 1832, succeeded in 1860, and declared the decision of the Supreme Court void in 1892, are one and the same? If so, the American people will hesitate a long time before intrusting power to a party in which this section has at last become predominant.

THEODORE COX.

Current Economic Discussion.

Mr. Julian Hawthorne writes on the Homestead strike in the *Engineering Magazine* for September, advocating a release of the land from the grasp of speculators, so that mechanics can have recourse to it when thrown out of work by the injustice of capital. He is not staggered by the evident desire of men to leave land for the cities, and escape the hard labor of the farm for the easier life of the town, which causes them to forsake the fields so rapidly as to cheapen land continually. Of all remedies for social ills, those which people do not want and will not take are sure to be most recommended. But how utterly at sea as to the real remedy must anyone be who repeats an old advice rejected by everybody concerned from long ago. Worst of all, however, is the fact that the land improves no one's condition, being incapable of producing enough to better the mechanic's lot in any way. It gives poorer pay than the factory, and is therefore visibly no remedy for mechanics asking for higher wages.

Mr. William Black writes in a better vein, showing the invincible difficulties in the way of any form of socialism, such as nationalism or confiscation of land. He goes on to prove that the natural development of individualism affords the only possible solution of difficulties existing, since that has proved its capacity by undertaking and carrying forward to successful completion all the great works which distinguish our previous progress. What has done so much can easily do the rest.

The French *Journal des Economistes* for July 5th writes on state socialism as compared with free association, and shows how the first has cramped and misdirected the industrial progress of French and German society, as com-

pared with English and American society. It advocates the adoption of the trades union as being far more satisfactory to industrial development than any other method.

In the *Arena* for September Mr. Ibn Ishak draws the horoscope of Islam, as he sees it from his believer's point of view. He imagines that Mohammedanism can continue with sufficient adaptation, and would prove more in accord with democratic development than even Christianity, because it teaches: (1) That God is not the third of three. (2) Because it forbids drunkenness expressly, which Christianity does not. (3) Because in polygamy it advocates a social system calculated to destroy the social evil of monogamistic countries. (4) Because it teaches universal brotherhood, which would destroy the poorhouse and the workhouse. Our excellent Ishak does not of course know that social development as absolutely disqualifies a society from either resuming or keeping old doctrinal forms as the growth of an oak disqualifies it from nestling in an acorn cup. Mahomet and steam machinery cannot keep tents together. Ancient thinkers have few thoughts adapted to the present.

Hon. John Davis, M. C., writes on the communism of capital in the usual denunciatory way, without verbal limits. He counts it to be an awful evil that there are 340 millionaires in the State of Illinois. Doubtless he regards the pioneer condition, when there was not one, as better, or the previous Indian condition, when there could not be one, as better still. What would he have, industry without reward, or with small reward? Is it better for any one to make little than much, and is a state where all are poor better than one where some are rich? Is not Chicago the site of the World's Fair just now because it has money in abundance to do so large a work? Go to, now, Mr. Davis, are you not humbugging just a little, and not quite so stupid as you seem?

In the *Chautauquan* for September Mr. John Haberton writes on "Social Science in Business Life," in which he quotes a prominent lawyer as saying that "practical honesty in the affairs of everyday life is very rare outside of business circles; that the classes who stand highest as exemplars of moral virtues are the most lax in their ideas of duty as to dollars and cents." Mr. Haberton defends the average business morality as being the highest there is in the community—a solid economic truth, since morality is really the effect of commercial exchanges in the main.

Mr. Emil Marriot gives an account of the Vienna Working Women's Union, which seems to be a school where many useful things are taught, and women are prepared for industrial life. Twelve thousand scholars have attended its classes, and it has about sixteen hundred students. Bookkeeping, lace-making and fine washing are taught, but the Union is not self-supporting. This is a pity, since it has not the real backbone of usefulness till it reaches the self-supporting stage; but it is doing a great work worthy of much praise.

The editor of the *Chautauquan* is much puzzled as to the upshot of the Homestead strike and its ultimate results, which is not surprising, seeing that the social science of Chautauqua does not study man as he is or will be, but as he ought to be and will not be, which of course only leads to perplexity when confronted with man as he is in full action on a large scale.

In the *Forum* for September Mr. Chauncey Black addresses himself to the Homestead trouble, with the result of prescribing the intervention of the state, which should make "provisions for arbitration, provisions for speedy litigation in default of arbitration, provisions for preserving conditions against radical changes while legal settle-

ment is in progress, provisions against call-outs, lockouts and strikes in the interim, and above all provisions against evictions of workmen and the introduction of armed forces." These are true lawyers' remedies, especially the provisions to tie up things generally pending a legal settlement, which is the bane of litigation; and the terror of business men everywhere. In business to tie up is generally to ruin, and the whole legal profession, not having yet discovered that business is progress, movement, evolution, whereas law is arrest, stoppage and fixation, apply the law of statics to dynamics and destroy things altogether. The cure for Homestead and other evolutionary troubles is not arresting legislation, but economic education, so that the knowledge of the common interest between capitalist and workmen may unlock or prevent the warfare from arising. Laws can only help, not solve the difficulty, and those laws must be healing, not arresting. Mr. Black, however, has written well upon the matter, so far as his vision permitted.

Mr. J. J. McCook writes of the venality of voters, and says there are 26,394 venal voters in Connecticut. It seems to be one of "the steady habits" of that state. The cure for venal voting is of course improved social conditions all round, which will come from increased production. Perhaps Connecticut men are venal because the lands are so poor. Difficult to prevent is venality, but secret voting will do something against it, though not everything. It is like intemperance, curable only by general elevation.

Mr. Henry Rood writes of the mine laborers in Pennsylvania, describing a state of things there among the Huns, Italians, Slavs and Poles which threatens our civilization seriously. They are ignorant of English, do not send their children to school, are vicious, bloody, quarrelsome and low every way. Only one redeeming feature they have (though Mr. Rood also blames this), that they are greedy for money. If they only would not take such low wages they would soon begin to rise, but the

worst of it is they will take low wages and then hoard the money, which prevents them from reaching a better standard of living. They are a clear example of those few wants which make all low civilizations. The true remedy is not only schools and churches, as Mr. Rood thinks, but to develop in them a desire for more things, and so higher pay. Nothing redeems all excepting an increase of the means to live. Meanwhile our country suffers from having such low wage-people within its borders.

In the *North American Review* for September Mr. Powderly advocates "the enactment of laws providing for arbitration between employers and employed, and to enforce the decision of the arbitrators," with "access to all books, papers and facts bearing on matters in dispute;" which only shows how completely Mr. Powderly fails to appreciate the expansive nature of the forces at work. Meanwhile business would be arrested and more wages lost by workmen than they would like to spare. The method is impracticable, because in a question as to rise of wages the result would depend entirely on the particular factory in which a rise was asked, and one manufacturer would be found to be able to afford a rise, where the same rise would bankrupt another in the same commodity. Could one manufacturer be decreed to give a rise and another not, and would anyone acquiesce in such a decision? The effort to decide by law what only economic movement can determine, will always fail, since no law can apply to all cases, and if it did it would not be put up with in practical life. Mr. Powderly should look for something that will work, as he belongs to the working classes, and all other things are useless to them. The Knights of Labor should study economics and its laws of living and expanding forces, which those of wages are. Until he finds some formula for an expanding society, which shall take into account the rate of expansion, he will never be able to

provide for the settlement of quarrels between workmen and employers, since the strength and pressure of an economic situation is always varying. To find at any time whether a given business would stand more wages for its workmen would puzzle any committee out of its five wits, since often the owner of it cannot himself tell. It is partly a question of future profits, and depends on circumstances yet to occur. The only way to find out is to try it, and the experiment is always so risky that nothing but the greatest strain on the employer will bring him up to it. This strain the workmen alone are fit to apply. The best that can be done is for employers to find out that raising wages is generally much less injurious to them than they fancy it will be, and for workmen to recognize that wages can only advance slowly. The economic law of slowly advancing wages as a constant law of society will get acknowledged some day all round.

Mr. George Ticknor Curtis and Mr. William C. Oates both discuss the Homestead question also, and both run up against the stone wall of individual ownership, the right of workmen to make terms for themselves without unions, and the rest of it. No one of these recognize the fact that they ought to deal not with theories of things here, but with the essential facts of a situation. The situation is trades unions, which workmen have and will keep, whatever anyone says, and individual owners, who have exclusive rights. Both of these parties are members of society, and in their quarrel society should step up as lord paramount of both, to show both that it is interested in their adjustment, and is determined that neither party shall crush the other, but that both shall arrange their differences without violence. The situation will not end in the destruction of either party, but will end in the recognition of the unions as the best system to deal with labor movements.

FREE LANCE.

Editorial Crucible.

Correspondence on all economic and Political topics is invited, but all communications, whether conveying facts, expressing opinions or asking questions, either for private use or for publication, must bear the writer's full name and address. And when answers are desired other than through the magazine, or manuscripts returned, communications must be accompanied by requisite return postage.

The editors are responsible only for the opinions expressed in unsigned articles. While offering the freest opportunity for intelligent discussion and cordially inviting expressions of well digested opinions, however new and novel, they reserve themselves the right to criticise freely all views presented in signed articles, whether invited or not.

IF ANY doubts existed regarding Mr. Cleveland's position on protection they are surely removed by his letter of acceptance. He unequivocally declares for a tariff for revenue only, which of course is absolute free trade.

MR. EDWARD DELILLE expresses his mind in the *Nineteenth Century* for July about the American newspaper press. Of course it is all that it should not be, "vulgar, loud, ridiculous, especially its humor." He thinks theatrical criticism and literary essays to be most important matters, much slighted among us. "Distinctly the states are not as yet a literary nation." Seeing what a poor fist the literary classes made at developing mankind while they yet had it all their own way, as prior to our last half-century, perhaps we can bear the above reproach, and solace our souls with having made more contented, happy and prosperous masses than exist elsewhere. Perhaps men are of more consequence than even letters. But even as to letters Mr. Delille confesses that we read more than anybody, which is something rather literary.

THE DEMOCRATIC managers are beginning to realize that they made a mistake in being too frank in the declaration of free trade in their platform, and are trying to hedge off to the Force Bill. This looks a good deal like jumping out of the frying-pan into the fire, for while the American people are not ready for free trade, they are no less opposed to an open endorsement of banditti rule in the South. Of course there is no hope of success for any party that definitely proposes to abolish our protective system, but to squarely insist that a majority of the citizens in one-quarter of the states shall be deprived of their political rights by shot-gun and tissue ballot methods of the most degraded elements in our country, is to invite a Waterloo. The mere fact that responsible party organs, endorsed by leading members of the National Committee, can openly advocate the forceful suppression of the negro vote, shows how empty is all their talk about enforcing law and the sacredness of the Constitution, and goes far to justify the suspicion that as a party it still represents ante-bellum ideas of freedom and civilization.

THE *Journal des Economistes* (Paris monthly) criticizes our departure in economics as being the old doctrines under new names, which leads us to think the writer has not read our pages at all thoroughly. Undoubtedly "Evolutionary" and "Inductive" Economics are claimed, as he says, by all and everybody, so that one is easily lost in the maze of pretenses. But we do not hold with the old school that "profits fall as wages rise," but that profits and wages advance together. We do not hold that price depends on demand and supply, but that it depends on the cost of production. We do not hold that interest is a part of cost, any more than rent is. We do not hold that wages tend to the least a man can live on, but that they tend to the maximum of his wants, and depend upon his standard of living. We do not hold Economics to be the science of wealth only,

but the science of all social progress. And we hold money to be a form of credit in the exchange of services rather than value itself. And we hold that French frugality is the cause of the slow advance of French provinces in intelligence, freedom of mind and spontaneous life. In which the *Journal* would doubtless find us novel. We value the *Journal* highly, and we wish it to become better acquainted with us.

IT IS AN encouraging sign of the times that President McLeod, of the Reading Railroad, decided upon second thought to confer with the chiefs of labor organizations to adjust his relations with the Reading employes, instead of insisting upon his "iron-clad document" method of breaking up the labor unions. He might possibly have succeeded in procuring men who would thus sign away their right of association, but he would just as surely have sown the seed of a future revolt as day follows night. The time has passed in this country for that mode of procedure to be successful. No matter how much employers and lawyers may reason about their right to do it, it just won't work. Civilization has made it impossible. The readiness with which both President McLeod and Chief Arthur each declared their negotiations to be highly satisfactory, and called the other a sensible fellow, demonstrates the immense superiority of conference over conflict in adjusting economic relations. President McLeod has not sacrificed any of his manhood or property rights by recognizing Mr. Arthur as the official representative of organized workmen, but he has probably saved the Reading Railroad many hundreds of thousands of dollars; and also has made a great step toward establishing rational relations between laborers and employers.

ALTHOUGH neither political party is exhibiting very much vitality in this campaign, there are many signs that

it is nevertheless a campaign of education. Despite the efforts of a few papers and political leaders, economic questions are to the front. We are glad to note that both parties are beginning to recognize the fact that our theory of protection * is the only one upon which the tariff question can be intelligently disposed of. The Republican party, in its platform, distinctly affirmed the doctrine that the difference in home and foreign wages should constitute the basis of tariff protection. The committee on platform of the Democratic convention recognized the same principle, and its rejection by the out right free traders was confessedly the mistake of the party. Thus Senator Hill declares in his Brooklyn speech: "The tariff imposed upon all manufactured articles should equal the difference between the rate of wages paid in this and foreign countries." This tendency toward recognizing an economic principle in tariff legislation is very encouraging, and if the Democratic party can be kept out of power one more term we have good reason for hoping that the intelligent recognition of this principle will have become sufficiently general that the tariff question can be safely dealt with by either party. Then a change of administration will not involve an industrial revolution and business disaster.

A CORRESPONDENT asks how Protection can benefit the farmer, since the price of his wheat is fixed in Liverpool, and therefore on a Free Trade basis. There is probably no statement regarding economic prices more frequently repeated than this. The leaders of all political parties make it, and apparently everybody believes it. Yet there is not a particle of truth in it. What is there in Liverpool to affect the price of wheat? Absolutely nothing. The price of wheat is determined, like that of everything else, by the cost of producing the dearest portion of the necessary supply. Since the cost of no portion of the wheat of the

* See "Gunton's Principles of Social Economics," p. 325.

world is determined in Liverpool, its price cannot be fixed there. As all business men know, the price of any commodity in a given market tends to a uniformity, especially in a wholesale market where buyers and sellers are nearly all experts. No contributor to that market will sell his wheat for less than it costs. Therefore, those whose wheat costs the most will keep the price up to at least that point. Since all others can sell at the same price, they will make in profits the difference between their cost and his. This year it happens that Russia furnished the most expensive portion of the supply of wheat entering the Liverpool market. This was due to failure of crops, which increased the cost of producing every bushel of Russian wheat. The result was that although American wheat cost less per bushel than previously, because we had exceptionally large crops, the price was determined by Russian wheat, whose cost of production was exceptionally high, and therefore American farmers obtained a higher price for their wheat this year than they did last, when the crop was smaller, and the cost per bushel less. It will thus be seen that the price of wheat this year was not determined in Liverpool at all, but in Russia, and if next year America should have a short crop and Russia an abundant one, the price of wheat might be determined in Dakota or Illinois. Moreover, the price of American wheat is only affected by European conditions to the extent that our farmers have to rely upon a foreign market for their crops. Under Protection the minimum price of wheat in the American market is fixed by the maximum cost of American farming. Therefore, whatever increases the home market for agricultural crops benefits our farmers; and here again the influence of Protection comes in. It develops manufacturing centers, which furnish the best market in the world for farm products.

Book Reviews.

Capital and Interest. By EUGENE V. BOHM-BAWERK.
Translated by William Stewart. Macmillan & Co., New
York and London. 1890. 431 pp.

Professor Bohm-Bawerk is just now prominently before the world as the representative of the Austrian school of economics, which not merely differs from the English school, but claims to give a substantially new body of economic doctrine. This new theory, if we may so call it, is presented in two volumes, "Capital and Interest," and "Positive Theory of Capital," the former being a critical examination of previous theories, and the latter a presentation of his own doctrine, a review of which we defer to a future number.

The volume before us is not merely interesting, but is a really valuable work. It brings together under intelligent classification, and largely in their historic order, the various schools of economic theory. This makes a good presentation of the history of the theories of interest, and throws great light on the development of that subject. It brings out the fact that economic theories have seldom guided industrial affairs, but have ever been the result of efforts to furnish an explanation of the policies that men of affairs insisted upon pursuing. It shows how utterly wrong all theological and metaphysical reasoning upon economics has been, and in spite of the opposition of canonists, moralists, metaphysicians and government to suppress interest, it steadily grew as a recognized feature of industry as society advanced. The necessities of the case forced a modification of the views regarding interest, until both church and state were compelled to recognize its legitimacy and science turned its attention to its justification.

The work is also valuable for many of the criticisms the author has made upon the various theories. It is quite noticeable, however, that his criticisms are altogether the most telling on those theories that have passed into oblivion by their own absurdity. As he nears modern theories, which have arisen out of the complex conditions of the last one hundred and fifty years, his criticisms are much less effective, and sometimes savor of hypercritical hair-splitting. His treatment of Say and Lauderdale is superficial and frequently unfair, and when he reaches Cary he breaks loose entirely from the attitude of the judicial critic; but it is not until he reaches Marx that he shows his greatest weakness. He quotes Marx at great length, and replies at equal length. In this effort he brings forth his own theory, and therefore affords some test of the strength of the doctrine of the new school. It must be admitted by critical economists that in his attempts to demolish Marx's position Professor Bohm-Bawerk has utterly failed. In the first place, he does not break down Marx's method of showing surplus value to be exploitation of the laborer, and in the second place he only develops economic interest in his statement of the case by ignoring many of the important facts in the problem, all of which Marx took account of.

Marx's theory that surplus value is exploitation of wages is quite as plausible, and we think quite as defensible, as Bohm-Bawerk's counter statement, as here presented. So far as Bohm-Bawerk's criticism is concerned, socialists would be perfectly justified in claiming that Marx's doctrine of surplus value remains intact. It goes without showing that if Bohm-Bawerk and the Austrian school cannot demolish Marx, they have not established a scientific explanation of interest, since Marx attacks interest and all surplus value as exploitation or robbery of labor. But we do not wish to pass judgment until we reach the next volume, in which our author's positive theory of capital and its earnings is presented.

The Effect of Machinery on Wages. By J. SHIELDS NICHOLSON, M. A. D. Sc. Chas. Scribner's Sons, New York. 1890. 143 pp.

Professor Nicholson practically accepts Professor F. A. Walker's definition "that production is the measure of wages," the amount of which being the "superior limit above which wages can never rise," the rate to be regulated by "supply and demand," which has been proven wholly fallacious (the Professor to the contrary notwithstanding). If, instead of elaborating the phrase "quantity of labor," he had confined himself to fact—*cost of labor*—he would have acquired a correct understanding of the relation between employer and employe, namely, that of buyer and seller of service, thus regarding them as social units, it would have been evident that "labor being a commodity," offered for sale, its price must be the same as is the price of all commodities, viz: *cost of production*.

The statement that "there is no general law governing wages, applicable to all countries" is incorrect. To the laborer the cost of his service is the cost of living, and the price of the same his wages, whether he lives in China or the United States. That "wages are affected by a vast variety of causes" and that the "cost of living is subject to considerable variation," is due to the fact that nominal wages represent the cost of living, which is affected by the simplicity or complexity of the laborer's life. Thus including in "real wages" all desirable "things," the theatre, etc., to be consistent he should include actors, etc., as wage earners, and *all* who sell their service as such, whether it is for \$10,000 a year or \$1.00 per day. While it is true that "wages are paid out of the price received for the product," to say that "wages are correlative with profit, when prices rise wages fly up, when prices fall wages fly down," is entirely incorrect. Prices, when affected by arbitrary measures, are subject to many fluctuations during the rise and fall of wages. Under the operation of economic law, wages will eventually rise when prices

rise, but will not fall when prices fall, as a thorough criticism of historical data would have proven to Prof. Nicholson. As nominal wages are the means through which the laborer operates on prices—prices falling as wages rise—we know that as man becomes dear wealth becomes cheap (rise of real wages). We find, contrary to Prof. Nicholson's findings, that just as prices *do* move inversely to nominal wages we have a criterion of real wages. Failing to find a definition for machinery, the author inclines to treat it as an infernal machine, whose benefits, however, are indisputable.

Dismissing the foregoing questions as the "least interesting and important, compared with the consideration of the complex social results which ensued on the introduction of large industries," our author ignores the fact that production (real wages) is the response to consumption, which is the foundation of civilization and upon the increase of which (human wants) and its relation to capital the whole social structure rests. The introduction of machinery and consequent "change of relations between masters and men" by no means induced the unwholesome conditions of industry then existing, nor were they owing to any "evil inherent in large industries," but rather to the fact that inmates of English poorhouses were emptied, as it were, into the factories and their utter degradation became apparent. In many respects it is the same to-day, for the factory is always absorbing the lower strata of society, although these evils are constantly being eliminated through legislation by the efforts of those who, under the discipline of the factory system, are organized into trades unions, whose function is to sustain the high wage level, which is fixed by the twenty per cent. of the dearest of a class, and furnish opportunity for industrial, educational and social intercourse.

While the use of machinery reduces prices, and "thereby benefits the laborer," the author clings to the erroneous belief that, as "substitution for labor, it destroys the

laborer's only *capital*." Machinery, being synonymous with capital, the laborer has none. All that he can possess as a laborer is his service, which he sells for a price (wages). To state that "trades unions cause wages to vary more exactly with prices, *this in reality being the same as saying that they get a share of the profits*," is misleading. Wages are not a share of the profits, but are always paid as an investment in production, thus becoming an item of cost, and profits, not appearing until cost is covered, it follows that wages must be paid first, and as machinery "tends to become more continuous" it becomes a self-evident fact that wages cannot be "more precarious than formerly." "As auxiliary to labor" it increases the efficiency of production, not of "labor." The efficiency of labor can only be augmented by increased intelligence, consequent upon a more complex social life. While "the mobility of capital and labor depend upon knowledge and means of transport," and accelerate the movement of each, the cause is the desire for increasing returns—for capital more profits, for labor higher wages; and statistics prove that the ratio has increased in favor of wages.

Agreeing with Professor Nicholson in the rejection of the doctrine of *laissez-faire*, we are obliged to reverse his order of procedure and say that any advance in intellectual and moral energy involves an increase in the material forces, of which intellect, law and morality are an outgrowth. Technical education is by no means the panacea for England that our author thinks. If "England is in danger of being undersold" it is by virtue of the lower-priced labor of other machine-using countries. It is not finer grade of goods that England needs, but home consumers for what she already makes.

CORNELIA S. ROBINSON.

SOCIAL ECONOMIST.

NOVEMBER, 1892.

The Industrial Decline of Lancashire.

As an industrial nation England stands out conspicuously as an object lesson for all mankind. Although a small country, her exceptional industrial development has put her in the front rank of nations. She is in all respects ahead of any other nation in Europe, and with the exception of America in the known world. She gave the world the factory and railroad systems, which have revolutionized the methods of industry, and changed the character of modern civilization.

About the middle of the century she made another industrial departure by adopting free trade, which was soon followed by a considerable increase in her foreign trade and general prosperity. It is not surprising, therefore, that the industrial policy of England is held up as a model for economists to study and statesmen to imitate. Curiously, however, while the scholars of all nations urge it as the ideal system for every country, business men about as uniformly refuse to accept it, especially in this country.

Now, it may be safely assumed that whatever the human race insists on doing cannot be all wrong, because mankind will not continue to do what yields them no advantage. The fact that the whole civilized world, with the exception of England, tenaciously adheres to some kind of a protective policy, suggests at least that there must be some good in it. Of course protection as heretofore administered, both in Europe and this country, is

open to serious objections; but, as we have repeatedly pointed out, that is because it has never been scientifically applied. It appears to be a rule in human affairs first to do things and then learn to understand them. We blunder and make great waste before we scientize. Extensive experience is the only basis for correct generalization.

Now, a careful study of industrial experience shows that protection, despite the blunders committed in its name, is a broad social principle, reducible to strictly economic law, capable of general application. In fact, when scientifically administered it is the true economic policy for all nations, England included. That is what English economists and statesmen have failed to understand. For nearly half a century England had a monopoly of factory methods, which she developed under a regime of almost reckless protection. When, through her superior machinery, she became able to defy outside competition, she adopted complete free trade, and denounced protection as an unmixed evil, in the confident belief that other nations would soon follow her example. In this English statesmen showed more enthusiasm than judgment. But, although no nation has followed her lead in this respect, it is generally admitted, even by protectionists in this country, that free trade was the true economic policy for England, though it would not work well here.

We have ventured to combat this view on the ground that it rests upon no economic principle. Our position is that protection is economic only when it guards a higher civilization against the industrial methods of lower civilizations, and that the line of industrial demarkation between different countries is the general rate of wages.* Economic protection, therefore, demands that *every nation protect its industries to the full amount of the difference between its wages and those of the countries paying the least wages and using similar machinery.*† Had England shaped her com-

* See Gunton's "Principles of Social Economics," pp. 320-61.

† Ibid., p. 325.

mmercial policy upon this principle her free trade would have had a scientific basis. As it is, her present policy is scarcely less unscientific than was her protection. In neither case was her action governed by any economic principle. Her protection was extravagant and reckless and her free trade is unconditional.

Now, according to our theory of protection this was an uneconomic step, even for England to take. Of course free trade for a considerable time greatly increased her foreign trade, but that was mainly due to the fact that she had enjoyed for half a century a practical monopoly of factory methods, which more than offset the lower wages of other countries. Manifestly this advantage will disappear just as fast as other nations employ modern machinery. We have more than once ventured to affirm that unless Continental wages rapidly rise to the English level, Great Britain will be forced either to return to a protective policy or lose her place as the leading manufacturing nation. Her industrial relations to the Continent are becoming substantially like our relation to her. We need protection against England because her machinery is substantially the same as ours and her wages lower, and as Continental nations adopt her machinery she will need protection against them because of their lower wages or lose her business.

The evidences of this transition, which have been visible for some time, are becoming very pronounced in the decline of some of her leading manufacturing industries. In a previous article* we pointed out that the cotton industry was destined, by the inevitable tendency of economic development, to leave England, because she has neither the means for producing the raw material nor the market for consuming the finished product, which in the nature of things must become true of many other industries, for the reason that her economic policy has forced her to depend chiefly upon foreign markets. Our position,

* See "Future Location of Cotton Industries," Social Economist, May, 1891.

which seemed very much like economic heresy at the time, has recently been confirmed by a writer in Blackwood's Magazine for July, 1892,* who says:

"The people of Lancashire, in their palmy days of prosperity and affluence, have been prone to deem themselves secured against irretrievable calamity by the possession of certain qualities, or by conditions peculiar to their situation. They have been slow to allow the possibility of the ultimate crumbling of that huge superstructure of trade which their hands have upbuilt. They have cherished a firm faith in their own ability to maintain against all rivals their ground as providers of cheap clothing for the world's population. Nor has that complacent self-confidence hitherto proved overweening. Seasons of prolonged depression and widespread trouble have been encountered at intervals of a few years; but they have been faced staunchly, and Lancashire has emerged from the severest crises unvanquished, and after each has entered upon a term of greater productiveness than ever. . . .

"The time of most rapid increase in the weaving branch of the cotton trade, of which northeast Lancashire is the principal seat, was the decade from 1850 to 1860. In those years an enormous capital was invested in new buildings and machinery for the manufacture of cotton piece-goods. Weaving sheds sprang up like gigantic mushrooms in every direction. There was a rush of outside capitalists into the business. While the 'boom' continued anything in the shape of plain calico could be sold as fast as it could be delivered; and the profits were so ample that the gains of two or three years' working in numerous instances cleared the cost of all the looms and machines, and of the buildings they were placed in."

After explaining how "that prosperous spell was terminated by the American war of 1861-1865," and the attempt of manufacturers "to relieve the strain

* "The Prospective Decline of Lancashire," W. A. Abram.

upon themselves" by reducing wages, Mr. Abram says:

"Those reductions were resisted to the last extremity by the whole body of the operatives; the memorable strike of 1878 ensued, in which 120,000 workpeople stood out for three months, and at last were only with the utmost difficulty persuaded to submit to the sacrifice of ten per cent. of their earnings. After an interval five per cent. more had to be taken off. Reduced wages failed to bring good trade, while the operatives were so impatient under the infliction that five per cent. of the fifteen per cent. taken had speedily to be restored. These incessant conflicts over the wage-rate of masters and operatives embittered both parties, and aggravated sorely the difficulties with which the mill-owners had to contend. The last ten years—1882-91—may be shortly characterized as lean years throughout for those whose capital is employed in the cotton manufacture of Lancashire. They resorted to concerted short-time working twice or thrice during the period, and once to another small reduction of wages, which could not be continued, with very transient advantage. The whole manufacturing interest, at best not nearly so financially strong as outsiders supposed, has been seriously impoverished.

"The present situation, therefore, is this, that the cotton trade of Lancashire, so far as producers are concerned (of distributing agency at Manchester, and dealers in raw cotton at Liverpool, we are not immediately thinking), is chronically 'stale, flat and unprofitable.' It has come to a dead halt, if it has not moved several steps in retreat. In proof we shall offer the following observations: First, there are the outward and visible signs, not to be misread, that a prominent trade of the first magnitude, connected with an equally important local industry, no longer makes progress. The cotton manufacture, over at any rate the larger portion of the area which it has occupied in Lancashire, has for some years past not extended at all; indeed, it has visibly contracted. Taken in the bulk, it may be said that north and west of Bolton the

spinning branch of the trade has been steadily going backward these twenty years. In the towns of Preston, Burnley, Blackburn, Darwen, Accrington, Haslingden, Rawtenstall, Bacup, Colne, Clitheroe, Padiham, Great Harwood, Oswaldtwistle, Chorley, Wigan, Warrington and Lancaster, and numerous populous villages between, one may look in vain for a new cotton-spinning mill built since 1875, while a large number of old spinning mills have been burnt down and not rebuilt, and many an old mill has had its machinery cleared out and sold as old metal, and been demolished as useless. The number of spindles running in Blackburn and Preston has been diminished by hundreds of thousands. In two or three of the smaller towns cotton-spinning has threatened to become extinct by the suspension of business by owners of the existing mills, and the impossibility of securing fresh tenants at the lowest rentals. . . .

"Manchester, once the chief seat of cotton-spinning, and, save Oldham, and perhaps Bolton (which about holds its own), all other towns and villages in the county, and across the southern boundary in Cheshire, have suffered loss of trade and employment by the decrease of cotton-spinning. The cotton-spinning companies publish periodical reports of the results of their business, and these disclose that, for some years past, the net profits of spinning cotton yarns have averaged under three per cent. Last half-year profits touched the vanishing point for half the spinning companies, and many of them scored heavy losses. . . .

"The power-loom," he continues, "was perfected in Blackburn, as the spinning-mule was in Bolton and Oldham; and the Blackburn district has from the beginning of the cotton trade been noted for its weaving machinery and its skilled and hard-working weavers. Although Blackburn has lost in twenty-five years a full third of its spinning trade, it need not have yielded to despondency had but the weaving branch continued to develop. In a town which has in its weaving sheds over 60,000 looms,

the average number of looms running has been lessened by 6,000 within a few years. In Preston, too, the decrease of looms employed is stated to be very large; and in some of the smaller towns around Blackburn there has been a considerable stoppage of looms. This is not the worst feature of the business. Half the weaving sheds in the district have changed hands since the strike of 1878, having been transferred either on account of the failure of the former owners or tenants, or of their withdrawal from the trade, sick of its fluctuations and generally unprofitable results. . . .

"Great capitalists," he adds, "there yet are in the business, but they are few, and become fewer year by year; and such as remain do so, they avow, not because they can make it pay, but from attachment to concerns founded by their fathers or grandfathers, or from a sense of obligation to the corps of work-people whom they have employed so long, and who still trustfully look to them for work to earn the means of living. . . .

"Lancashire traders are not, as a body, naturally croakers. They possess a manful self-reliance, a sustaining sense of their competency to meet foreign adversaries on fair terms, ay, even on terms not too outrageously unfair and unequal, and in a contest to keep their own. They have the Briton's hereditary failing, of not knowing when they are beaten. Formerly, in the days when the cotton goods of Lancashire found free sale abroad in every important country, the makers of and the traders in them had an abiding confidence in the future of their trade. In temporary emergencies they spoke cheerfully of the unlimited scope for increase of business in supplying the wants of enormous unreached provinces and populations in the interiors of India and China. . . .

" Sadly altered now is the tone of producers and traders in Lancashire cottons when they talk of foreign trade. Their state of mind is that of anxiety and alarm. They are all pessimists; an optimist is unheard of on

Manchester Exchange. Lancashire chafes as it feels that the inlets of trade in foreign lands are blocked everywhere. Significantly, the gloomiest views of the future are expressed by those manufacturers and merchants whose foresight is keenest, who have had the largest experience, and who watch events and markets most narrowly. The wisest men in the trade have warned their fellows and the operatives that evil days may be in store, and must be prepared for. The oldest firms amongst mill-owners have shown what they expect by their having ceased long since to extend their works or to increase their production. Some make no secret of their wish to be out of the business, and one by one sell out when they can at almost any sacrifice. Before the ailments of the business become so inveterate, a number of large concerns were converted into joint-stock companies, that being the only method of disposing of the mills for a price near their nominal value. Now, it is next to impossible to float an established private business in cotton manufacturing as a company. On a forced sale the depreciation of a cotton mill anywhere in Lancashire amounts to from half to three-fourths of an appraiser's valuation. . . .

"Towns which, thirty years ago, were held up by their inhabitants as bright examples of enterprise and progress, are now proclaimed aloud to be 'decaying towns'; and proposals for carrying out the most desirable town improvements are exclaimed against and vetoed on the ground that, in the existing state of their principal trades, fresh expenditure upon public improvements ought not to be incurred." . . .

Speaking of the cause of this declining condition our author says:

"Our traders are, by those protective measures on behalf of their American, French, and German rivals, vindicated from the reproach, should any one venture to cast it, of lack of ingenuity in the making of their cloths, or of enterprise in the disposal of them. At the same time

it has to be admitted (however it may seem to tell against our theories as a nation of free-traders), that the cotton trade of several countries which are our most active competitors in manufactures has developed under protection a good deal faster than the British cotton trade has increased within the same period under free trade. This statement is true of cotton manufacturing in France, Belgium, Germany, and in a less degree of some other European countries, as the published returns of the quantities of cotton taken by them in a series of years and other statistics of their manufactures indicate. A more suggestive comparison might be instituted between the record of the extension of the cotton manufacture in the United States of America during the last five or ten years, and the inelastic state of the manufacture in Lancashire during the same period.

"Between the British cotton trade and that of each foreign country which prosecutes the manufacture of cotton goods on an extensive scale, there is this essential difference, that whereas the former is immensely more a foreign trade than a home trade, the latter are hitherto mainly home trades. Three-fourths, roundly, of the cotton goods woven in Lancashire are destined for foreign distribution. The export of cotton goods from the United States is only a small percentage of the entire production of these fabrics in the 'States.' In France the cotton cloths made for export may perhaps equal one-third or one-fourth of the total product; in Germany the proportion will be much smaller. Belgium does a moderately large foreign business in her cotton manufactures. Other European countries may be regarded as simply supplying themselves with cotton-pieces; their external trade in them is not worth taking into account. The bulk of the Lancashire trade in cottons, being an export trade, depends for its continuance upon the condition and laws affecting trade of countries beyond the seas, over which the British people have but slight control, or none whatever. The

American manufacturer has in his own vast country 62,000,000 of consumers of cotton goods to sell his wares to, and he enjoys, or soon will by the special grace of the McKinley tariff, an all but exclusive privilege of furnishing those 62,000,000 of people with whatever articles made out of cotton they want, at his own monopolist price. By the end of the century he calculates that the United States will contain fully 80,000,000 of human beings, the supply of whom with cotton cloth he and his fellow-manufacturers within the 'States' expect to have all to themselves. Wherefore should he trouble his mind about outlets for his calico 'notions' in other regions? Albeit the American manufacturer has always one of his optics, like those of Captain Bunsby, gazing into the far distance, while the other is fixed vigilantly upon his native marts. And there is keen 'speculation in those eyes that he doth glare with.' The American manufacturers promise themselves that eventually they will increase their machinery until they require half or two-thirds of all the cotton which can be grown in the Southern states, leaving the lesser remainder for all the European consumers of cotton to divide among them. By that time they predict that they will have got hold of the Canadian market for manufactures, whether by annexation or by commercial union does not matter, and will have excluded British cotton goods from the Dominion. South America, Central America, and the West Indies they regard as their exclusive fields of commercial operation in the not very remote hereafter. European commerce is to be banned from the two continents of the New World, or confined to such odd articles as Americans have not begun to manufacture.

"As for our European trade relations, we have freely imparted to our Continental neighbors all the secrets of our principal manufactures, without having with equal aptitude assimilated theirs; and they, on their part, have sedulously set to work to establish corresponding industries of their own. Their aim has been, in the first instance,

to produce cotton fabrics which they had procured from us to the extent of their needs, and afterwards to strive to share with us the trade of the outer world in those products of the spindle and the loom. In the first of these objects they have already succeeded, and they are making headway with the second. French, Belgian and German traders, who have learnt some valuable lessons from ours, are now teaching British traders this one lesson, that they are no whit less persevering and pushing than the latter, while their craftsmen do not rank themselves as inferior in inventiveness or deftness to those of Lancashire, Yorkshire and Lanarkshire. Nevertheless, in the infancy and youth of their cotton manufactures these Belgian, German and French competitors have not depended alone upon their native intelligence and skill. They have looked to their monarchs, presidents and legislatures to fortify them by protective imposts on cotton tissues entering their countries from abroad; and they have been promptly granted such protection from the state, nor have their countrymen who are consumers and not producers of such manufactures grudged them the advantage. The cotton manufactures of the three countries named may be considered to have attained their maturity, but the shield afforded to their weakness has not been withdrawn from their strength. The French or German maker of cotton goods might perhaps now compete with the British, in his own country's markets at any rate, were the protective duties abolished, for his cost of production, averaging the several items, does not exceed that of the Lancashire mill owner. But the duties assure him a substantial profit on his home sales, before British goods can enter into competition at all. So French trade in cottons goes to French manufacturers; German trade to German manufacturers; and all over Europe the same condition obtains. Each country weaves the greater part of the cotton cloths it consumes, and British cotton goods taken form a small and lessening item. Our traders may not hope to see this state of things substantially altered."

Mr. Abram then reviews the industrial condition in various countries of Asia and Europe, and especially in India, showing that with the introduction of English machinery they are enabled to manufacture for their own consumption, and through their low wages are beginning to successfully compete with Lancashire for the trade in neutral markets, and despairingly exclaims:

“When and where is it to stop? We are told that the whole of the trade with India, China, and Japan in the coarser counts of cotton yarn up to 24's twist is regarded as already gone; and it is anticipated that in counts of yarn up to 30's that trade can and will be taken entirely by Bombay before half-a-dozen years have passed. Lancashire is not able to bespeak much sympathy in its continuous losses of foreign, colonial, and Indian trade from the country outside of its own borders, perhaps because other interests in other provinces of the kingdom are also suffering more or less severely, and are quite absorbed in their own peculiar difficulties and troubles. Yet surely the issue is momentous for the whole British nation, and not for Lancashire alone. England minus Lancashire, as a gigantic manufactory, would no longer be the rich mighty, advancing England of other days.”

Should Trades Unions be Incorporated?

The legislative history of the coming winter is almost certain to be marked by efforts to secure additional legal regulation of trades unions. There will be the usual attempts to secure the repeal of the harsher features of the conspiracy laws of various states, in which industrial development has been attended by the adoption of crude makeshifts to keep labor from complaining too loudly. It is probable that, in view of the industrial history of the past summer, attempts will also be made to increase the restrictive power of the labor laws. The function of government, as defined by Mr. Gladstone, viz., "to make it as easy as possible to do right, and as difficult as possible to do wrong," seems to be so far overlooked in the plans that are being laid for legislation that will make it easy for the one party to avoid doing right, and to lead the other party to do wrong.

Between the representatives of extreme tendencies stands a host of well-meaning persons, grievously troubled about the labor outlook, fearful lest human rights should be altogether obscured by human wrongs, and repeating as their watchword "arbitration." How can they effectively substitute arbitration for the duel of organized force? What is to be done when one of the parties to the struggle almost always says, "there is nothing to arbitrate," and the state arbitration board, if there is a state arbitration board, having no power to compel arbitration, is able only to stand around in the absurd attitude of saying, "please let us arbitrate it for you." For how absurd it would be if the courts of criminal or civil law, represented, say, in the person of a policeman looking on at a street fight, were unable to say more than "gentlemen, please let us arrest you, and lead you in before Judge Dogberry, and let him hear your testimony and render a decision as to what ought to be done to insure mutual satisfaction."

Not a particle less absurd than such a spectacle is the present condition of the arbitration laws, or the arbitration lawlessness, of the average American state or commonwealth. For duels of force and wrong, in which one side clubs and stones and burns what it can get hold of that belongs to the other side, while the other side swells up with its own importance and tries to gag the former side as well as bind it, are quite as disgraceful to a law-abiding commonwealth as street fights and window smashings and individual firebugs are. More so, indeed,—as much more so as the number of the organized is greater than one individual. There is not much danger that an individual will succeed in putting himself above the law; but organizations will do it, if they are not watched. And as organizations outgrow the law, the law must be trained up to a vigorous growth that will overtop the organizations.

The growth of organized capital has developed a new legal science, the law of corporations. There is always a considerable gap between the ideal principle of equity, presumed to be illustrated by the existence of a corporation, and the actual enforcement of that principle. But it may be said that of late years the courts are more disposed to insist on equity as against technicalities, and to lay down more plainly than formerly the principle that a charter to a corporation is not a free gift to organized capital, but a phase of the social contract; a pledge on the part of the corporation chartered that it will obey the spirit of the law, deal justly with its fellow citizens, and render to them the semi-public service for which it was formed by conforming its dealings to "public policy." Such a promise once made, the corporation has a legal status. No one can avoid dealing with it if he wants to buy of its individual members that which they are organized to sell, whether transportation, other services, or goods. And if that corporation is flagrantly unfaithful to its duty to the public, it can be summarily dealt with, put into the hands of a receiver, or, may be, its charter dis-

solved altogether. Such, in the most general of outlines, are the principles on which the law recognizes organized capital. Organized capital is vastly benefited by such regulation, imperfect though it is both in its theory and in its application. Organized capital would not for fortunes exchange its legal status for that which existed before there were charters of corporations. The charter of incorporation, like the Great Charter which the barons wrested from the King at Runnymede, is a certificate of freedom, in return for which that responsibility is recognized without which there is no freedom.

All this time organized labor has been growing up to an importance equal to that of organized capital; if not equal materially, equal, perhaps superior, as a pioneer of moral forces. But the law is strangely behind the every-day world of the newspapers in recognizing and providing for this fact. The law admits organized capital to all the privileges of sonship, indulgently demanding a semi-respectful obedience,—though submitting at times to mere formal courtesy instead,—while organized labor stands outside, looking in through the window, with the dogs snarling at him. Only when he steps on the grass or encroaches in some other way on the premises of the law does the law say, "I really must pay some attention to that fellow." Of course this comparative negligence of organized labor by the law puts a premium on lawlessness as a means of attracting attention to organized labor's self; and, labor being most familiar with force as the means to its daily end of daily bread, organized labor betakes itself to lawless force.

This state of things is un-American all around, for American freedom is equality of rights before the law. When organized labor appeals for its rights, it appeals to the principle of right, and what it appeals to for itself it must recognize as equally good as regards others. Hence it is under a moral obligation to recognize as sacred the rights of others. The man who demands "my rights"

because they are "rights" does not demand them because they are "my" rights. If he demands his rights and disregards yours, and gets them because he is stronger than you, it is not right but might that has triumphed. American constitutions are based upon this equality of rights; and so we say to organized labor, "you must respect the law; you must appeal to public opinion; you must arbitrate." And organized labor says, "all right, let us arbitrate." But organized capital, with its charter in its pocket, replies, "public opinion knows nothing about it; we intend to run our business to suit ourselves; there is nothing to arbitrate." As well might one of two men fighting in the street tell the policeman, "there is nothing to fight about, so you needn't take any hand in this affair."

The time has come when organized labor can afford to claim the privileges of incorporation accorded to organized capital. Let us suppose organized labor to say, as it has said with honorable frequency, "we do not want to break the law." Sincerity almost invariably commands fair treatment; how then shall organized labor show the sincerity of its purpose to respect the law? How better than by going to the seat of the law-making power and saying, "we are willing to make our existence as an organized body depend on our observing the laws made for the protection of life, liberty and property. If we cannot secure what we want by peaceful agitation and other lawful methods, we do not want it. We are Americans, and we wish to recognize the rights of all others, as a condition of the realization of our own. Give us a charter that will secure us these rights, the right of organization and power of attorney for our own interests, as capital enjoys them; give us this, and we will accept this charter on condition of its forfeiture if we, or our agents, are convicted of bloodshed, arson, violence, or malicious mischief, destructive of the liberty of citizens, and restrictive of their pursuit of happiness."

What would be the consequence? This, that capital,

when a compulsory arbitration law was proposed, could not say, "compulsory arbitration is unjust, for labor is not responsible, while we are. There is no guarantee that labor will abide by the result of the arbitration if it loses its case." There would be responsibility and a guarantee. A labor charter that should be liable to forfeiture if the incorporated trades union disobeyed the judgment of the arbitration court, need only have enough privileges guaranteed to organize labor by it to make every union glad to avail itself of the operations of an act to charter organized labor.

Capital would prefer dealing with organized labor to dealing with individual laborers, under such an act. There would be volumes of advantage, in this fact alone, to organized labor. There would be, moreover, incalculable advantages in the increased dispatch of industrial business, and the fulfillment of construction contracts, akin to the advantage which commerce has derived from the invention of the steam engine or the clearing house, so much more quickly would armies of labor be mobilized, and the labor of the individual marketed. Here, again, the benefit to labor would be multiplied. Greatest of all, because involving the moral principles on whose acceptance depends the happiness of mankind, would be the benefits of compulsory arbitration, bringing both parties to an issue between chartered capital and chartered labor before the chartering people. Public opinion would review the verdict of the arbitration tribunal, and if that verdict were wrong it would sooner or later be set right without need or excuse for lawlessness. For public opinion is after all the controlling factor. Public opinion is in the chair and has the deciding vote. And public opinion is tired of violence; not merely of illegal violence, bloodshed, trainwrecking, or incendiaryism, which at once alienate its sympathies, but of the clumsy legal and moral violence of the strike, which is as wasteful as the burning of a house to get roast pig because the first roast pig was discovered in the ruins of a burnt house.

Violence fails, whether it be legal or illegal, because it is human nature to resist the use of force. But when a contract is made, the contracting parties consent to do or submit to certain things under certain conditions. And public opinion, which is generally with the "under dog," or on the side of those whom others try to force into a certain course, becomes an opponent when the party in question tries to break its contract. Public opinion believes in forcing people to keep their contracts. Public opinion is already strongly disposed to favor labor in most of its struggles with capital; it will be generally on the side of labor when labor abandons even the legitimate weapons of sheer force, like the strike, and plants its feet on the solid ground of capital's contract to obey the law. Let the law command capital to submit disputes to arbitration, and leave it no excuse for refusal in the shape of a plea that labor is not a responsible organization, and what will follow? What can follow but this, that if labor is chartered, and its charter made forfeitable for disregard of the arbitration and other laws, the rule will work both ways, and capital's charters can also be forfeited for disregard of the law's verdict as to the rights of labor duly shown.

Labor can lose nothing that rightfully belongs to it by taking the oath of allegiance to law, and recognizing, by the acceptance of certificates of incorporation, that its own life depends on the general observance of the laws which it is pledged to obey. On the other hand, it will gain incalculably by being wedded to the law, for life. It will gain everything, for it will take its stand on the righteousness of its cause, as all-sufficient in the eyes of a public that loves justice.

KEMPER BOOCOCK.

Trades Unions and Civilization.

The early guild was a feast at which combinations were made "for the purpose of protection and plunder." It is generally supposed to have sprung out of kinship as an extension of the family, but it is rather a continuation of the socialistic tribe or gens out of which the family was segregated, since historically the tribe is before the family, and is the source of the family. So it is the source of the guild and of the town, which was not made of an aggregation of families, but was the expansion of the tribe or village community in which the family, as such aggregate, found its proper environment and preservation. The town is not a convenient aggregation of "freeholders and landless men," men with civic rights and men without rights, but it is the result of a developing community whose abler citizens segregated themselves into families and took direction, because they could make it more profitable to the less able to be set at work or employed by the more able than to work for themselves. Society arranged itself into governors and governed, an upper class with brains and force enough to know what to do and to do it, and a lower class whose minds furnished no such information to their owners, and therefore no independent action. We call these last slaves because they were so completely servile to their betters, body and soul. They were slaves, however, only because they could do better in servitude than when left to themselves. They were better provided for as slaves than they would have been as freemen, just as dogs and horses live better as man's property and servants than they could do as free and independent wild beasts.

To rise out of that dependent condition has been a long and slow process for the masses, restrained as they have been at all stages of their advance by their own ignorance, and opposed by the misguided hostility of the

upper classes. These latter, indeed, failed to see that the advance of the serf and the villein to a position of wealth and intelligence must necessarily carry up with it the whole structure of society, and give themselves an added wealth, importance and happiness. They have always held that the rise of the commons was the downfall of the aristocracy; that the people could not get up without pulling down the patrician. So that we find the advance of laboring classes to have been hindered by all sorts of repressive laws, all kinds of civil and military restraints, against which progress has often seemed impossible. And, indeed, it would have been impossible had the movement upward been driven on simply by human desire for the better; but it was driven forward by a much more irresistible force, which was the slowly increasing wealth of laborers as centuries rolled on. An increase of wealth has the force of steam against repression, increasing always till it bursts any barrier erected against it.

The modern movement of laborers, beginning say with the thirteenth century in England, found common law opposed to all combinations of workmen to promote their own interests by regulating the relation "between workmen and masters, or workmen and workmen, or masters and masters," or to impose restrictions on the conduct of any industry or business. Up to the reign of George IV., between thirty and forty Acts of Parliament were passed, designed to prohibit and prevent the organization of labor. In 1824 all these laws, which had proved perfectly inefficient for their purpose, were rescinded, but the results of that repeal were so alarming that the repeal was repealed the following year and the common law of conspiracy was left to act freely against combinations in restraint of trade, with some exceptions. It left, however, the right of persons to meet together to determine the rates of wages, prices to be required for work or paid to workmen, hours of labor per day, and agreements verbal or written to fix wages or prices. And later these liberties

were defined to include everything except the right to intimidate, molest or obstruct. Still, unions as such were not legalized, though they ceased to be criminal organizations. Under these laws trades unions, however, have flourished and multiplied.

The relation of trades unions to civilization is much misunderstood, and this misunderstanding has resulted in hostility to the unions. Unions discipline, train, and educate the working classes beyond all other agencies. They turn them from inchoate mobs into drilled bodies. They are far better than armies because they discuss important questions, spread information among those who most need it, set minds to thinking that otherwise would never stir, protect the ignorant, the weak and the oppressed, and tend to abolish poverty by their constant push for higher wages. To join a trade union always signifies in the workman a willingness to submit to discipline and restraint, to hear questions discussed, to consider rights and wrongs. The better workmen are more generally unionists than the inferior.

Society should always support the unions as most beneficial to working classes, and as being a means to their redemption from the poverty and misery about which there is so much outcry. But people judge adversely to them from their occasional manifestation as seen in the strike. The superficial appearance of the strike is one of violence and disorder, sometimes accompanied by bloodshed and almost always by the exercise of force of one kind or another. These strikes, falling in the midst of a peaceable community like the bomb of an anarchist, produce consternation and terror among the comfortable classes, and therefore excite their animosity. They hate them, and therefore are quickly led to hate the organizations under whose auspices they are apt to occur. Therefore they denounce and detest trades unions, which order them. They do not stop to consider the amount of other work which the trades unions must be doing in times when no strikes are

on, what a system of discipline, instruction and training the management of such an institution brings into play, what a number of subjects must be discussed, and what a number of intelligent discussions must be held, what financial plans must be matured, what ways and means devised in order to carry any single union along successfully for a length of time. All these things escape the notice of the other classes. They also forget to mark that the laborers in their unions have to grapple problems which try the nerve and intelligence of even well-trained men, with undisciplined and narrowly instructed minds, and to find the solution of these problems at the risk of their own scanty living if they fail. A candid consideration of these facts may lead one to see that trades unions are for their members no child's play of weak and willful disorganizers, no amusement of idle hours, but a serious and drastic school of discipline and instruction. Therefore it is that they must be beneficial to the workmen because they give the habit of thinking out problems, of discussing important matters, of instructing themselves in subjects otherwise beyond their scope.

But that is by no means the whole story, nor even the main consideration. It is undoubtedly something to the state that when taking its citizens for soldiers they benefit by the training and discipline of army drill and social life, but after all the main use of an army is to fight in defense of the common welfare and for public objects. So the main object of the trade union is not the incidental drill and instruction of its members, but the attainment of specific ends for their advantage, the establishment of a continually improving material and social condition for the laborers who support it. It is no sort of a night or grammar school; it is instituted to meet a need and to attain an object, and this need is the need of a better living and this object the capacity to force society into constant contribution to the welfare of the masses. All of its serious purpose, therefore, is directed to this one end, and so far as it

pushes this purpose and reaches this end it succeeds, and only so far. Its success is only the climax of that slow and secular movement by which the masses have risen from slavery to serfdom, from serfdom to villeinage, from villeinage to free contract, and free contract to citizenship—a movement without leadership and almost without direction from anyone, but rather the inevitable effect of the slowly increasing wealth of mankind as the products of industry continued to accumulate. From a position below the law workmen have advanced first to a position against the law, then to a position within the law, and now are rising to a position to make the law.

A chief reason for the perpetual strife arising between employers and employed is a failure to realize that in a world where evolution is continually going forward perpetual change is the primary law. Those who strive to keep things as they are are fighting against the fundamental principle of the universe, which is that nothing shall remain as it is. So employers who contend that any existing wage level shall not advance do not comprehend that if society is to go forward the wage level must advance, and that society is shoved forward by themselves every time an improved machine is introduced into their factories. That machine carries with it increased productiveness, and, as a matter of inevitable sequence, a social advance which is necessary to make the machine profitable to its owner, and the means of that social advance must be found in higher wages given to workmen.

The idea that machinery can cheapen and increase production indefinitely without increasing the power of the consumers of products to use a greater quantity of them is clearly false. Limited consumption means limited production. Increased consumption alone can stimulate increased production. Wages must therefore rise continually to enable the masses to take up the goods produced, and society can only go forward so long as wages go on rising. When the billionaire takes the place of the mill-

ionaire, as he will before many cycles, the workman will have one hundred dollars where he now has one, just as now, when the millionaire has become common, the workman has three to thirteen dollars per day where he once had but eighty cents. The trade unionist, therefore, who is always pushing for more wages is pushing forward the social order; the capitalist who resists him beyond what necessity compels is arresting social order. The unionist in general is right and the capitalist wrong, therefore, as the unionist contends. The welfare of society is bound up with the efforts of the mechanic, just as the interests of political liberty have always been bound up with the commons and not with the "lords and gentlemen."

Once this fact is recognized by the capitalist, once he sees that his personal interest is not in resisting the demand of his workmen to a great extreme, but that a general rise of wage level will always bring in its increased business a specific rise in his profits even at reduced prices, the bitterness of his feeling about raising wages will be assuaged, and he will listen to the desires of workmen as a friend and not an enemy. So, let the workman once realize that higher wages are only possible to him from richer capitalists and larger plants, that the billionaire is as necessary to the existence of rich and comfortable workmen as a rich soil is to large crops, and he will see the capitalist world heaping up profits on profits with delight, knowing that profits accumulated mean productive capital, out of whose industry he will be able to live in increased luxury. No capital means poverty for all, as among Indians; immense capital (and the more the better) means wealth for all.

The evolution of society, therefore, which is a natural and irresistible law, pushes society forward to a condition of greater wealth and more universally diffused comfort. And the best thing for all of us is to yield to the impulse and take pains to go forward, and not get in the way with inherited obstinacies and querulous oppositions. Theorizers and book students are always side-tracking their

thinking on some other issue than the central and effective purpose of the trade union. They do not grasp the fact that the real benefit of unions comes from their push to increase wages and shorten hours, and that in the success of their measures to do these lies their ultimate benefit. So we have Dr. Luigi Brentano, in a careful book on "The Relation of Labor to Law," asking for the adjustment of labor to capital on a fair basis, by which is meant such a basis as gives to each its own proper share of remuneration from the product of common action; thus shunting himself off into the useless and uninstructive commonplace that the ultimate result of their whole striving will be "personal freedom and equality of all before the law." We in America possess that already, and yet find no abatement of the energy of trades unions in getting something far more substantial than such an abstract privilege. He further adds that there will also come such a balancing of the two principles of individualism and authority as will secure the advantages of both principles, as if there were guidance in such vague generalities. But to such ineptitudes is he sure to come who leaves the solid ground of Economics to find in abstract justice and impossible balances what can only be derived from the working out of economic forces with a practical result of increased wealth. If Dr. Brentano had once seen that the industrial forces had already produced a vast measure of amelioration for all classes through the enormous increase of the rate of production established by steam machinery, he would also have seen that a further increase, which is clearly realizable, would easily master the remaining misery of mankind. If the trades unions could but discern the same truth, and devote their powerful and active forces toward the same end—an increase of production to satisfy increasing wants—they too would advance far more rapidly than they are now doing toward the millennium of enough for all, which is the only solution of their problems. What men need is more things, and these are only to be got by pro-

ducing them, and so have them to divide before beginning to squabble about their division. And employers now driven from pillar to post by strikes and clamors for more wages would see also that if they were once to take sides with the workmen in giving all the wages they could afford, and so increasing the size of their own markets, they also could produce more goods and join in adding to the general felicity. The solution of all problems is purely economic, and the immense battle now going on is almost useless except so far as it will finally teach the true doctrine that wages and profits rise together, while prices fall at the same time, and that no business and no country is prosperous except where wages are high, profits large and prices low.

The effort of some trades unionists to develop into a general society for the purpose of controlling politics or the action of the state directly has resulted in the formation of socialist organizations and political platforms. These are appearing from time to time with increasing frequency, and seem to be about to do something important, to which as a matter of fact they never attain. They may rise high for a moment, like a wave of the sea that is shouldered above its fellows, but sink back like the same wave to the average level of society. The reason for their failure is perfectly evident to anyone who has grasped the real controlling principle of all social movement, which is the increase of wealth. The trade union is good because its object is the increase of the wealth of its members through a constant, slow advance in the rate of wages, which is the main source of wealth among laboring classes. So long as they hold to this main purpose their existence, increasing power and value to the community is assured.

Now, when socialist societies step forward into the field of politics they leave the fundamental position of the trade union, which is devoted to increasing the wealth of its members by getting a larger share of the increased output arising from improved machinery, and devote their

attention to measures and arrangements, not to increase production, but to divide existing production differently. And this is a barren industry of theirs, as general politics, though extremely interesting and often exciting, like horse racing and base ball, nearly always are barren. But they are especially so in the case of the socialist endeavor, because as yet if all the wealth so far produced were divided equally, the division would give to each so little more (not above \$200 or \$300, and that not per annum but only once) that it would give only the smallest addition to any one's resources. And it would do this at the cost of taking away most of the existing productive capital from the hands of those whose successful handling of it shows that they know how to make it productive, and then the socialist himself after two years would be far poorer than ever, while he would have damaged our present system of production beyond calculation. It is doubtless some such practical foresight that prevents the Australian socialists, who are all-powerful, especially in Melbourne, where they might "install the socialist state to-morrow, and put a red flag on the Parliament House," from doing any such thing, although they are quite "dependent on a handful of capitalists for their employment."

All efforts of men, no matter what they call themselves, directed to any other end than that of some addition to the resources and wealth of the community, must always result in failure, as they always have, because the main defect of mankind is, as it always was, poverty, and poverty can only be relieved permanently by an increase of goods. Therefore, trades unions are sound and good because they are connected with production and its increase, while socialist unions are worthless and bad because they do not offer anything in that direction.

Karl Marx and others who saw the great "International," with their grandiose manifesto, "Proletarians of all nations, unite!" come to an early death in 1872, after eight years of pompous existence, never knew what killed

it. Its platform was in their eyes reasonable. In some features, like the education of children and the abolition of child labor, it was excellent. But it was devoted to ideas and theories of affairs. It nowhere caught hold of the main necessity of mankind to increase production as a means to the increase of general wealth. It could not live, therefore, because it contributed nothing to the main issue, and because nothing can live long which does not so contribute. So long as socialism does not take up the problem of increasing production it can therefore never become in danger of general adoption. And when it does take up that problem and begin to multiply goods it will cease to be dangerous, because then it will help society, which needs such multiplication, and then it will learn that for production individualism can beat socialism out of sight.

A Woman's Commonwealth.

Addison, it will be remembered, in one of the *Spectator* essays, gives a humorous conception of an Amazonian state, in which all the inhabitants are women. Its borders were bravely defended against masculine encroachment by heroines whose deeds might have added lustre to the sculptured tablets of the Phigaleian frieze. It has been seriously suggested by a recent writer that, in view of the coming of thousands of foreign visitors to our approaching Exposition, a unique exhibit would be the establishment and conduct of a gunropolis, or government of women. Some favorable district might be selected, say in Montana, where the sex enjoys a liberty, not to say license, unknown in most parts of this heterogeneous empire.

Here the sporadic developments of the sex, in the professions, law, philosophy, religion, might find favorable conditions of culture; and be at once an ornament and an example. Here woman's suffrage should have untrammeled sway. Justice, so often burlesqued by masculine administration, should be dealt out with woman's unerring instinct, if by unprecedented rule. Modesty should walk hand in hand with inconventionality. For instance, the sex, no longer trammeled by the slavery of skirts, could disport itself in bifurcated freedom or in entrained majesty, as occupation and occasion demanded. A congress of women should afford that most longed for opportunity, a chance to talk where no masculine restraints could stay the torrent, and in whose duration the "Rump Parliament" could not compare. Then, too, education should advance, and every science open its doors to the lovely applicant who has so long been knocking timidly. No longer should the man physician be admitted to the sacred secrets of woman's ailings; no longer the Knox-like theologian dispense doctrine so unsuited to the finer sensibili-

ties of her spirit; no longer the slavery of pots and pans, the toil of domestic life, the care of multitudinous progeny, be the necessary lot of womankind.

But soft: who rallies to the standard? Does lovely maidenhood, dreaming its visions of manly courage and protection, fill its complement of happiness? Does matronhood, leaving its natural joys of filial love and its Cornelian jewels? Does silver-crowned age, living the quiet benediction of a serene life, under the care and protection of laboring sons? Or shall it be those who, by fate or preference, have the lot of continual virginity, and who seek in public life the solace of unrequited or uninvited affection? Can a wall be built high enough to shut out that mischievous god who so ruthlessly destroyed the state in Addison's witty vision?

The problem of social economy is so inwrought with that of domestic life, that the projectors of a new system, whether founded on sex, distribution of wealth, or enjoyment of religion, must either prepare a definite and thorough programme for their own guidance, or expect defeat on the first attempt at solution. Do we, then, ask too much, in requiring at least a prospectus of this adventure? Do not suspect us of secret mirth or still less of an ungallant purpose to frustrate so novel a scheme. By all means let us have a "Woman's Commonwealth," if only to teach that truly worthy sex that their part in the social drama is as Sheridan's epilogue suggests—

"One moral's plain, without more fuss;
Man's social happiness all rests on us.
Thro' all the drama—whether damned or not—
Love gilds the scene, and women guide the plot."

But to the practical economics of the question let us for a moment address ourselves. Frederick Harrison, in a recent essay, declares that the physical functions of woman alone, in a mixed community, would debar a considerable number for a considerable time from public duties requiring constant service. Yet we find vast numbers of the

sex now engaged in business occupations which require an incessant and imperative attendance on their part as is required of their male companions in the same occupations. Indeed, experience has proven that woman has reached that stage of sexual independence, if we may so call it, where she is able to compete with her brother, man, on almost equal terms, subject only to those limitations of intelligence and aptitude which arise out of centuries of alien training.

Hence we have no real argument on the ground of inability to bring against such a combination of sex in an attempt to introduce a new commercial life on that basis. A commonwealth indeed she might have; governed after a fashion by her own ideas of law and order. Social life, on a very one-sided basis, with its multiplied business interests, shops kept by women for trade in feminine necessities and luxuries, a post-office—paradoxical as it may seem—not for males, but for *female* service; a municipality organized and run on domestic principles, a genuine economy (*oikonomia*); in fact, a state in which the masculine element should not be a necessity. But, *cui bono*, to what end, even supposing its practicability were thus demonstrated? What possible good could the segregation of sex, even in scattered communities, do? As a fact it is well known, that whenever the male sex is by force of circumstances thus situated, unless dominated by some special religious or educational force, the tone of morality and the force of culture, as well as the grade of human advancement, is speedily lowered. Would not the same results follow in the other case? Does not society give the highest results where the sexes are most evenly divided and most intimately commingled—where the lines of demarkation are least rigidly drawn, and where the faculties of each are developed with a view to their leaning on one another?

Therefore, it would seem that a more edifying if less Utopian spectacle would be found in a community in which

the same amount of energy was expended toward advancing the joint interests of the race, and blending their different attributes and functions in one sympathetic harmony. Far distant be the day, indeed, when with our consent shall lovely woman isolate herself from the solicitude and protection, or even the equal competition of our sex, in the fatuitous attempt to establish an Adamless Eden on *fin de siecle* principles!

CHANNING M. HUNTINGTON.

The Initial Anarchist.

Law and anarchy: these are the two opposing principles whose conflict society is watching with intense interest at the present time, and especially in our own republic. Recent outbreaks in the United States were probably less of a surprise to Americans who have thoughtfully studied the social symptoms, than to Europeans comparatively unfamiliar with our institutions and the operation of the influences that control our commercial and legislative bodies. The cloud which has been brooding over the Old World for generations is, with us, of but recent growth, and it might reasonably have been predicated of it that the national spirit was unfavorable to its development.

Thirty years ago the writer was passing the Astor House on Broadway with a friend, who pointed out to him a person who was passing. "There," said he, "that man is worth \$100,000." Such a remark, if made to-day, would excite a smile of ridicule. There are now in the metropolis several hundreds of millionaires. In the whole country, according to the statements of statisticians, there are seventy men worth \$2,700,000, one hundred control an aggregate of \$3,000,000,000, and twenty-five thousand own half the total wealth of the Union. Less than half a hundred, if so disposed, might control the currency as well as the commerce of the nation. Railroads and syndicates hold nearly 365,000,000 acres of land. In New York City the ownership of real estate is controlled by 10,000 persons.

This vast concentration of wealth has during the last twenty years been hedged in and sustained by an intricate mass of legislation. Croesus have multiplied and great fortunes increased with a rapidity unequaled in any other country. "An American millionaire" has become the universal synonym for sudden riches. Great fortunes and their inevitable attendant, great poverty, have produced a

separation of class interests and social confusion of which anarchy is the apparently natural carrollary. While it is true that, even despite these conditions, anarchy is not of American breed or extraction, it is equally true that, but for such favoring elements, the example of disorder seen abroad could never have had emulators here, and that alien disturbers would have secured no foothold, nor even a patient hearing, from American workingmen.

An anarchist is an unnatural being, a promoter of lawlessness, disorder and confusion. He is at war with the established agencies that regulate social and economic affairs. He pronounces all law an outrage, simply because some laws are so. Law is the rule of action, established by the common consent of the community for its own government and welfare. As united interests must take precedence over those of individuals or minorities, it would be anomalous to adopt any rule that would benefit the lesser, to the disadvantage of the greater number. Such a rule could not be said to have the common consent, and would therefore violate this fundamental principle. It would not be law, but its counterfeit.

Proceeding with this analysis, we discover that the promotion of lawlessness embraces a very wide area of action. The overriding of statutory enactments passed for the public good; the subversion of the duties and functions of judicial and legislative bodies by bribery, corruption or intimidation; the passage of laws inimical to the common interest—these are anarchical to the extent that they violate the true principles of law. And this leads us to the contemplation of the Initial Anarchist, who is the forerunner of the Vulgar Anarchist. The Initial Anarchist may be a despot, who dominates the legislative and judicial machinery of a nation, making it the agent of his personal will, instead of the servant of the people, and thus laying a substructure upon which it is impossible to build save to confusion. Governments so conducted must finally collapse, for governments are sound and enduring

in proportion as their foundations are just and true. Honest laws and an untrammeled judiciary are the guarantees of national contentment. Vicious legislation and a venal bench open the gateways and admit a flood of other evils that speedily undermine the structure. Such a foundation was laid in New York City by the state and local legislatures and the judiciary twenty years ago, and it produced the natural and inevitable revolt. On a larger scale, similar conditions existed in France prior to the Revolution. They prevail to-day in Russia.

But there are many ways, besides those indicated, in which the disturber or promoter of disorder may operate. He may unsettle values, precipitating the failure of merchants, the wreck of financial institutions, and the ruin of thousands of individuals. He may create commercial and domestic confusion, by forcing up the price of everyday commodities; make travel too costly for any but the rich; send nearly all the gold out of the country, producing panic on the exchanges and widespread bankruptcy, and making thousands penniless. He may organize the familiar corner in stocks, or the crafty combination in flour or coal. All these he may do, either singly or by combination with others. He has it in his power to shake the foundations of honorable trade and commercial confidence upon which the material welfare of a community rests. The need to make money for himself and his associates cannot be urged as a legitimate reason, for already, as often happens, they are rich beyond the dreams of avarice. Why, then, does he do these things? In Paris, after the siege, the petroleuses could give no reason for their conduct beyond the insatiable desire to destroy; and so, in the relations of social and commercial life, the exercise of the destructive habit is its own propagator. The Initial Anarchist, secure in the protection of the law for his schemes, becomes a menace to national prosperity and good feeling. He is a luxury which, when multiplied to a certain point, no nation can afford to indulge. In the

aggregate he is more costly than war. The war of the Rebellion cost the North \$5,100,000,000, and the South \$2,300,000. In the intervening thirty years the plutocracy has absorbed thousands of millions of the national substance, yielding a return that no one will claim to be adequate, and the absorption continues. In many instances the process adopted by the plutocrat to accumulate his wealth is so bold and conscienceless that it may be regarded as a mere modern variation of that followed by the mediæval, border-raiding, feudal baron—the sturdy Ishmael of his time—who plucked society, lest it would wax too prosperous, and loved no game better than a thriving tradesman.

But there is another class of anarchist, equally ardent in his devotion to the demolition of existing conditions, though happily less insidious and therefore less dangerous than the first. Yet he is, after all, only a blundering imitator, lacking the intelligence, the finesse, the adroit manipulative skill of the other. He plays with incendiary proclamations and wild speeches, and with bombs that make a noise, whereas the real past-master in the profession burrows deeply and silently. He shatters a wine-house or blows up a freight car with a thunderous detonation, while the expert noiselessly shivers the doors of a bank's treasure-vaults or wrecks a railroad. He resorts to vulgar crime, but his astute prototype, standing within the limits of the law, by a single dexterous stroke ruins a hundred homes and drives a score of men to crime and despair. Their methods run in parallel lines, but with a wide difference in the performance. It has been said frequently of late, and said truly, that there is no place in this country for anarchists. Disturbers from Europe are quickly detected and easily dealt with. But the Initial Anarchist, by attacking the solid foundations of society and government, supplies the conditions favorable to the existence of the offender from oversea, who sets himself up as a mark for condemnation by proclaiming his doc-

trine of brute force as the remedy for social evils:

“Force rules the world still;
Has ruled it, shall rule it.”

Such a doctrine carries its own destruction.

Progress is rapid indeed on this side of the globe, and the age is educational. Fifteen years of resolute application to social and political problems have educated our workingmen far beyond those of any other country, not even excepting England and Germany. They have penetrated the hidden meaning of the oft-repeated phrase of Gashmu, the Hindu, which tells how “the rich are growing richer and the poor poorer every year,” and they have demanded not only to know why it is so, but why it should continue to be so. In the search for light, they have stumbled across the veiled figure of the Initial Anarchist, beside whom they are a hopeless majority, unable under existing conditions to express their will in government, but mainly because of their inexperience and still insufficient education. They recognize in him the representative of a privileged class, to which is legally open a variety of combinations in trade and finance, designed to gratify the ruling passion of acquisitiveness. Should they attempt to emulate his example in their lower sphere by forming combinations, they run foul of the statute books. The law, and what has been ironically termed “the misfortune of their position,” are against them. James Gordon Bennett the elder was the first to assert that the “cohesive power of public plunder” kept political parties together, and when the worker is fully educated to the appreciation of his opportunities, he will learn that the cohesive power of common interest is sufficient to weld his class, now disunited on politics, into one compact, organized body, strong enough numerically to carry out at the polls any changes its interests demanded, even to the extent of revolutionizing national, state and local legislatures. The way to a peaceful and constitutional solution of his troubles is

now too clear for him to descend to violence, and he would be the first to rid the land of all disturbers, if he could.

It is only through such peaceful and legitimate channels that Initial Anarchist is to be reached, and his abnormal propensity for accumulation at the expense of the multitude restrained. It would be folly for labor to grasp by violence what it may claim through constitutional means, by the proper exercise of its influence as a majority. Demonstrations, counter-combinations, strikes, and an attitude that appeals to the passions and sympathies, afford no material aid in settling the real question—how best to harmonize our people and make them united and prosperous and loyal to the republic. Education alone will liberalize the classes and bring them into closer relations to each other. The man of wealth and commercial position, besides recognizing the power and the equitable rights of the worker, will come to know him less as a servant and more as a man and fellow-citizen, whose multitudinous support is essential to the preservation of the Republic. On the other hand, the worker, realizing his potentiality in numbers, simultaneously grasps the great philosophical truth that violence secures nothing permanently. He possesses a potentiality which, organized and loyal to a common interest, can redress all the wrongs from which he may have suffered in the past. The perils of the Republic through class separation, and the near vision of a ruling plutocracy, would then disappear before the harmonious conjunction of the classes and the restoration of national tranquillity that must follow the generous, educated recognition of each other's rights by capital and labor.

In our own generation, the Initial Anarchist stands as the antitype of "the man with the muckrake," seen of Bunyan, who was so absorbed in gathering his straw that he could not glance upward to see the Shining One who held the crown above him, to be had for the up-reaching. In the regeneration, the muckrakes will have to be cast aside. Education will cease to be a mere training in the

various arts of money-getting. The way to succeed in life will be shown to our youth as something better, higher and nobler than the selfish accumulation of riches at the expense of all the qualities that make the individual a benefit to his fellow men. When our pulpits, our schools, and our press cease to urge men and women to the cultivation of Mammon-worship, and inculcate the practice of those qualities and virtues that make manhood and womanhood pure, sweet, and helpful, the Mammon-idolatry and lust of power, which Heaven and nature alike condemn as inhuman and degrading, will fade before the true spirit of republican fellowship, which holds all men as brothers. This higher education has already begun and it will not go backward. The index finger of the time points to a day not very far off when plutocracy, as exemplified in the Initial Anarchist, will have become a by-word, and when the idle rich, who are selfish or unworthy stewards of God's gifts, will have neither voice nor influence in the affairs of a great and progressive nation.

G. H. SANDISON.

Mr. Sandison is entirely right in regarding anarchists as enemies to society, but when he endeavors to show that the bomb thrower, whose object is to destroy government, is but a vulgar specimen of which the millionaire is the genuine article, he is entirely off the track, and is heading toward the economic wilderness, where he is sure to be lost. To assume that the concentration of wealth and the rise of millionaire capitalists promotes anarchy is to have misread all the lessons of economic history. Anarchy is the child of poverty, and wealth is the mother of order. It is in the lowest stages of social existence that the greatest anarchy prevails, and conversely we find most perfect order, security of person and property, political freedom, intelligence, equity and morality where the greatest wealth exists and millionaires are most numerous. Of course Mr. Sandison's blindness to what has actually taken place in

the development of society is due to his misconception regarding the function of capital in society. Judging the subject as a sentimentalist rather than an economist, he erroneously assumes that "great fortunes inevitably produce great poverty." He seems not to know that the greatest poverty the race ever experienced was when there were no fortunes at all. According to his view, Africa, India and South America should be better countries to live in than the United States; but of course Mr. Sandison does not really believe anything of the kind.

We know that with every step in social advance, from the state of a tribe of red Indians up to modern civilization, the poverty of the poor has diminished as the wealth of the rich has increased. Hence we find wages and the social condition of laborers always highest where capital is most concentrated, and great fortunes most numerous; the lowest of all in Asia, and highest of all in America. It is equally true that the advance of wages and development of fortunes bring greater order, safety, freedom and general prosperity, because they produce higher intelligence and general civilization.

There is nothing so dangerous to invested wealth as anarchy. Nobody has so much to lose by disorder as millionaires, and to talk of capitalists as initial anarchists is to show an utter misconception of the whole subject. Indeed, the bomb-throwing anarchist is largely the product of just such diseased imaginations as Mr. Sandison seems to be afflicted with. He sees poverty and also great wealth, and, without taking the pains to understand the economics of their relation, jumps to the conclusion that the wealth is the cause of the poverty, forgetting that poverty was the initial condition of everybody when anarchy really prevailed, and that every step toward the point where millionaires were possible has been a step in which poverty has diminished and order increased.—[ED.]

Who Pays the Tariff.

Although the tariff question has been discussed for nearly a century in England and this country, the question "who pays the duty" is still a point of chief contention. Free traders stoutly contend that the tariff raises the consumer's price of the commodity to the full extent of the duty, and since Mr. Cleveland's 6th of December deliverance (1887) this view has been reinforced with an additional claim that the tariff raises the price of the home product as well as the foreign to the full extent of the duty. This theory is not derived from any special study of industrial experiences, but is an *a priori* deduction from the doctrine that prices, like water, tend to a general level, and therefore to raise the price of the foreign product in any market is to raise the price of the home product in that market to the same extent. Indeed, they go the extent of insisting that to raise the price of the home product is the sole object of the tariff. Perry declares, for instance, "that it can be historically demonstrated that no protected duty was ever laid in the United States, from the beginning of the government until this hour, except at the instance and under the pressure of the very men who expected thereby to get artificial prices for their wares, at the cost of their countrymen ("Political Economy," page 479); and adds, page 482, "a protective tariff accordingly may be defined as a schedule of taxes levied on certain imported goods, with an eye to raise thereby the prices of certain home duties."

The ablest free trade journals take the same position, repeating in substance Perry's italicized passage. Thus the *Evening Post* in an editorial of October 19th says that "if a tariff does not increase the price of the goods to the consumer, it is without any *raison d'être*; it is a piece of stock folly, and it is certain that the protected classes

would not take such pains and spend so much money to get tariff bills passed if prices were not to be raised." As is general with sweeping *a priori* statements, this claim is entirely inconsistent with the facts. As every business man knows, numerous articles of home manufacture are daily sold at less than the amount of the tariff upon such articles. In proof of this the *American Economist*, organ of the American Protective Tariff League, has for months together printed on its front page the picture of some article of domestic manufacture, the retail price of which is less than the amount of the tax in the tariff schedule in the McKinley Bill. This is confirmed by the fact that all the alarming predictions of free trade writers and speakers regarding the disastrous rise of prices and the lessened prosperity that were to follow the McKinley Bill, have all been flatly contradicted by the last year's experience. In fact, the reverse of what they predicted has occurred. Prices have fallen; trade has increased; new industries have been created, and our foreign trade is greater than ever before. These facts so completely refute the free trader's claim that protectionists are beginning to assert the opposite as a general proposition. They affirm that protective duties are paid by foreign manufacturers and not by American consumers.

Now is this a tenable position? Can it be shown as a general fact or as a natural result of economic law that protective tariffs are paid by foreigners? In order to prove that protection is beneficial to a nation it is not necessary to prove that it enables us to make other people pay our taxes. As we have frequently said, protection must be placed upon a scientific basis if it is to be maintained in this country as a principle in economic statesmanship. To contend that it will do what it will not is to weaken rather than strengthen its claim to public attention. In a recent issue of the *American Economist*, under the title of "Protection and Prices" Professor Robert Ellis Thompson has an article discussing this topic, which is en-

titled to consideration. We give the substance of Mr. Thompson's argument in his own words. After a general characterization of free trade economics, he says:

"Take, for instance, the question of the effect of a protective duty on the price of the article it affects. The free-trade formula was adequately represented in the outcry about McKinley prices, which took in so many voters in 1890. The object of the duty, the free-trader assumes, is to raise the price by just that amount. So the importer will be obliged to charge just so much more for the commodity as it is brought into the country, and the home producer of the same article will 'add the duty to the price' of what he makes. Hence it was calculated that carpets, for instance, would rise in price by exactly the amount of the increase of the duty under the new tariff, and 'the consumer' would have to pay accordingly, whether he bought an imported carpet or one made at home.

"The subsequent history of prices leaves the free-trader who thus prophesied in an ugly dilemma. Either he knew better than his formula, and was lying when he prophesied the rise of prices, or he and his formula are alike destitute of the common sense born of experience of the complexity of human affairs.

"Look first at the effect of the increase of duty upon the price of the imported article. The importer and the foreign producer he represents are both aware that the increase of duty has for its first object to increase the home production of that article, and in so far to take away his market for it. He therefore sets himself to make the increase of duty worth as little as possible to his rival, the American manufacturer. He puts up with a reduction of his profits in order to hold on to his customers. Practically, he thus lowers the duty on the article by the amount of this reduction, so far as the American producer and consumer are concerned. If he can afford a reduction amounting to the whole increase of duty, then the effect of the increase of duty on price is just nothing."

It is quite clear that under the conditions stated by Professor Thompson the foreigner pays the duty, but it is equally clear that in such a case there is no protection, because the very fact that the foreigner is willing to deduct the duty from his profits relieves him of the necessity of raising his prices. Therefore, if he could undersell our products before the tariff he can do so after, having paid the tariff out of his own pocket. So that to the extent that foreigners will pay the duty is the tariff non-protective, from which it follows, of course, that protective duties cannot be paid by foreign producers, since their very payment of them destroys the protection. Clearly, then, it is only the amount of the duty foreigners cannot deduct from their profits which is protective, and this is protective solely because it must be added to the prices. This seems clear from the fact that the only reason we need protection against foreign products is that they can undersell our own, and if a tariff does not prevent this underselling it does not affect the competitive relations and hence can afford no protection. Professor Thompson sees that the number of cases in which the foreigner can pay the duty from his profits is necessarily limited, and adds: "In many cases this is not possible, and the price of the imported article must rise by just the difference between the increase of duty and the reduction of profit."

Now it seems to us that the cause of protection is injured rather than helped by such double reasoning. The object of protection is not to make foreigners pay our taxes, but to protect our own wages and industrial opportunities against the lower wage conditions of less civilized countries. This can be done only by increasing the price of the foreign product. As we have said, to the extent that foreign producers pay the tariff from their profits they destroy the protection, because by so doing they prevent the price from rising. But the assertion that this increase of the price of foreign products is added to the price of home products is fallacious. What the tax in this instance

really does, is to raise the price of foreign products up to the cost of producing home products. Free traders will say that if the tariff was not put on the foreign product, the price of home products would fall to the level of the foreign; but that could not be since the price would be below our cost of production. What really would occur is the distribution of the industry in this country. Now it is just to prevent such a catastrophe that protection is needed. Without protection our higher wages would defeat our industries, because they alone make our greater cost of production. It may therefore be frankly admitted that so long as a tariff is protective the price of dutiable articles will be higher than if there were no tariff, without impairing the economic defense of protection in the least.

Who gets the benefit of this tariff is the real question. Even free-traders would not venture to oppose protection if they were forced at the same time to admit that the community in general, and laborers in particular, got the benefit. The only pretense upon which they dare make a public demand for free trade is that the tariff goes to augment the profits of capitalists at the expense of laborers. Now this position is economically as fallacious as it is seductive. The difference in prices created by a tax on imports is no burden to any class in the community except those who live upon rents, interest or profits, and whose income therefore does not depend upon wages or salaries. The difference in the prices we pay through duties on foreign products is not a burden to any part of our industrial community. On the contrary, it is an economic investment to preserve our industries from disaster, and our civilization from arrest; just the same as we pay for a police force to preserve order and protect property, and for public schools to improve the intelligence and character of our people, which is the real measure of our civilization.

The assertion that tariffs only serve to augment profits, is an economic absurdity. Except temporarily and in rare instances, it is doubtful if tariffs affect profits at

all; they certainly could not do so permanently. Tariffs or no tariffs, the price of commodities in any open market will be forced by competition to the level of the cost of production of the most expensive part of the supply in that market. By this economic law of price uniformity all profits are made to depend upon the ability of capitalists to produce at a less cost than their dearest competitors. This takes place under a high tariff, just the same as under free trade. That is why general profits are not greater in America and other protected countries than in England, nor greater in protected industries in this country than in so called non-protected industries. The only change that a tariff produces is to raise the point of lowest cost of production, so as to enable home producers, who by virtue of their higher wages represent the greater cost of production, to have a competitive chance in the struggle for existence. For instance, there are many industries in which, if the tariff were removed, the greatest cost in England would be so much less than the least cost here that prices would be determined at a point below the lowest American cost of production. This would not permanently affect the profits of English capital, but it would blot out American competitors altogether, and thereby destroy the employment of our laborers, whose wages made our higher cost of production. Now, to put on a tariff, say equal to the difference in the wages, at once increases the cost of the entire foreign product, and lifts the plane of competition up to the level of our cost of production. The only contribution this makes to American capitalists is to give their business a fighting chance in our home market. Their profit must depend upon their ability to produce at less cost per unit of product than their dearest competitor, just the same as if no tariff existed.

The difference in price due to tariffs takes two forms. What is added to the prices of foreign products goes to the government as revenue, and the equivalent of that in the home products goes to our laborers in their high

wages, which, as we have seen, constitutes the item of our greater cost of production, and makes the tariff necessary. It will thus be seen that, apart from the revenue it yields to the government, a tariff, scientifically levied, gives the laborer the entire benefit. The only benefit American capitalists receive from protection is the opportunity to compete in our home market without lowering our standard of wages.

The claim that tariffs tend ultimately to lower prices may, at first sight, seem to be inconsistent with this position, but in reality it is not. What we have said relates to the immediate effects of a tariff under existing conditions of production. The secondary and altogether more permanent influence of a protective tariff is to create new industrial conditions, which give greatly reduced prices. This comes in a strictly economic and perfectly natural way. In the first place, by raising the price of the foreign product to the level of the cost of home production, the tariff secures to American producers the possibility of our home market without lowering wages. This gives two important economic results. First, by sustaining the possibility of our high wage level, it promotes the development of general consumption, thereby increasing the extent, variety and permanence of the market. Second, this furnishes the best of all economic inducements for the investment of capital and development of improved methods of production.

Herein lies the great and lasting benefits of our protective policy. It is through this policy we have been enabled to make such enormous advance in wealth-cheapening devices in every department of industry. Even in the domain of cotton manufacture, where England had a half a century's start of the world in the use of machinery, we have distanced her nearly out of sight, in the increased productive power of our improved machinery.* In 1830 the concentration of capital (which always means improved

*See Gunton's "Principles of Social Economics," p. 347.

methods of production) was very much greater in England than in America. The average establishment in England represented nearly three times as much capital, five times as many spindles, twice as many looms, and employed nearly three times as many operatives as this country. In 1880 the relative position of the two countries was reversed. While the total capital invested in the cotton industry in England had little more than doubled, it had increased more than 400 per cent. in America. In England the size of establishments actually diminished, while in this country they have increased from an average capital of \$50,702 per establishment to \$275,503, or over 400 per cent., and the ratio of spindles to establishments in England increased only about 82 per cent, while in America they increased 800 per cent. The number of looms per establishment only a little more than doubled in England, while here they increased six-fold. The number of operatives per establishment in England diminished from 205 to 180, while in America they increased from 77 to 228. The rise of wages during this time was only 42.23 per cent. in England, as against 113 per cent. in this country, and at the same time the price of the product was reduced 10 cents per yard here, as against 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ cents per yard in England. In other words, through the development of improved methods, made possible by protection, we have been enabled to reduce the selling price of our product 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ cents more than England, besides increasing our wages 70 per cent. more than she has.

Nor is this limited to manufacturing industries. Through the development of our superior agricultural machinery we are enabled to produce 920 bushels of grain per laborer, as against 540 in Great Britain, 350 in Canada, 245 in Germany, 220 in France, 180 in Austria, 16 in Spain, 15 in Russia and 14 in Italy.* This explains why we can, while paying more than double the wages, produce breadstuffs cheaper than any other country in the world.

* See Mulhall's "History of Prices," 1885; p. 81.

How completely true this is, is shown by the following table, given by the English statistician Mulhall in his "History of Prices," showing in shillings the weekly wages received, cost of food, and surplus earnings of laborers in the various countries:

	WAGES.	FOOD.	SURPLUS.
Great Britain.....	31	14	17
France.....	21	12	9
Germany.....	16	10	6
Belgium.....	20	12	8
Italy.....	15	9	6
Spain.....	16	10	6
Europe.....	20	11	9
United States.....	48	16	32

It will be seen by these figures that although the average laborer in America spends two shillings a week more on food which is very much better, he has a surplus of one shilling a week more left after paying for his food than English laborers earn altogether, and his surplus is one-third more than the wages of the average European laborer.

The answer, then, to the much propounded question "Who pays the tariff," is finally a very simple one. To the extent that a tariff is protective, it is paid by the people whom it protects, but the protection its payment secures enables them to obtain in the long run many times as much as it costs, in higher wages, cheaper products, greater freedom and higher civilization. And what is still better, the payment is only temporary, while its benefits are everlasting.

Current Economic Discussion.

The *North American Review* for October has ten or a dozen articles on many subjects by many distinguished men, from Mr. Gladstone on Home Rule to Theodore Stanton on the French Electoral System. Some are interesting, though as a whole they are rather trite and uncommonly full of errors as to the drift of affairs. Mr. Gladstone apparently thinks with Lord Salisbury that "the troubles of Ireland arise from the government of England," and will be cured by Home Rule. As well expect to cure the savagery of a bear by shaving his hide and making him as smooth as a calf. What would cure Irish misery would be discontent with peat and potatoes and desire for better food, clothing and houses. The Irish do not crave things strongly enough, and if Home Rule does not somehow stimulate consumption enough to increase production, the island will be no better under it than it is now. Mr. Balfour's development of Irish fisheries and connections with a market will do more for Irishmen than a parliament at Dublin. Let any doubter of our position reflect whether he himself would not care to raise his own standard of living so as to include say a horse and a buggy than to change his seat of government from Washington to a state capital! And Home Rule will turn out to have been about as important. Of course the Irish ought to have it simply because they want it, but increased desire for food, clothing and home supplies are alone adequate to change Ireland substantially. Politics are apples of Sodom; production is the true nutritious fruit.

The *Economic Journal* (British) is an excellent magazine, which we read with great interest. It is well abreast of the times, and discusses questions of importance with a clear and intelligent comprehensiveness. In the September number Mr. Arthur Duckworth discusses the Australian strike of 1890, holding that the question at issue rep-

resented by the laborers was "not merely the granting of a special concession to any body of workers, but of the maintenance and defense of the right of labor to federate in a common cause." The dispute at last came to involve everybody and everything in Australia, and caused such a general paralysis of business as was never before seen anywhere, as intentionally produced. The result was a victory for employers, as is seen by the resolution of pastoralists and shearers at Sydney in 1891, where it was argued that "employers should be free to employ any man, and shearers free to accept any employment they chose." The economic lesson is, that an effort to force anybody to do things or not to do them in a free country is always a failure. The essence of progress consists in establishing, not by force, but by social development, such things as the community agree upon as good for all parties.

Mr. L. L. Price, in an article on profit sharing and corporations, writes of the reasons for the general unsatisfactoriness of the outcome of both these industrial methods. He fails to grasp, however, the center of the trouble, though approaching it sometimes. The real cause of failure is that individual management will always be more cogent, capable and productive than co-operative management, and will therefore undersell and ruin that. Profit-sharing workmen will never be willing to continue it with loss-sharing also, which is the other half of the orange. Mill, indeed, prophesied a final millenium of co-operation, but it is not coming, and the real millenium must be looked for in the contemned wages system. High wages are economic and tend to establish themselves.

The same journal also has an excellent discussion by Prof. Cunningham and Alfred Marshall as to "The Economic Perversion of History," in which Cunningham attacks Prof. Marshall for (1) the neglect of serious study of facts, and (2) the misinterpretation of facts, though unintentional. As an example he instances the general ignorance of the origin of craft guilds in England, whether they

were native or a development of manorial organizations, or of Roman origin. He then goes on to protest against the idea that "it is possible to formulate economic laws which describe the action of economic causes at all times and all places." As, for instance, the Ricardian theory of rent is "inapplicable to subsistence farming, where only surplus is taken, and ludicrously inapplicable to quit rents," for commuted services, since neither have regard to qualities of the soil. Of course if general, economic laws, always dominant, are creations of fancy, and if each age and nation has its own, separate and peculiar to itself, there is much detailed study to be done, and when it is done there will be as much more to be done, and so on. There will be no end to it, and one faints at the prospect. But if such principles as that price is determined by cost of production, that rent emerges when one farm will produce a surplus over another, however it may be disguised in the forms of the payment of the rent, are universal, and no one could sanely deny that, Prof. Cunningham is wrong; and his detailed criticism of Prof. Marshall goes to show, not that Prof. Marshall erred by relying upon general principles too much, but because his economic principles were not generalized enough. They were not real economic principles, but only sentimental principles like "the love of liberty and social equality." So when Prof. Cunningham further follows Prof. Thorold Rogers up with his complaining pen, he makes it clear that Prof. Rogers is mistaken in his view that the English law of 1563, by which magistrates could fix the wages of labor, actually did degrade the laborer unspeakably for the next two centuries. But though the reason for Rogers' mistake may have been, though it scarcely could have been, ignorance of the detailed history of that period, yet it is quite clear that a firm grasp of the economic law that wages are fixed by the standard of living of laborers and not by statute, would have given him the correct clue to the history even without the detail.

Replying to Prof. Cunningham, Prof. Marshall repudiates the former's assertion that "he relies on an underlying assumption that the same motives have been at work in all ages and have produced similar results, and that the same laws hold good." So he flings away advantages at the outset because he, too, does not feel sure that general economic principles really determine history, whatever be its external appearance. He does, indeed, re-assert Ricardo's doctrine of rent, as generally applicable in substance, as he well may. He also correctly says that the action of economic principles is more obscure in early history, though he believes it to be at work in "subterranean" currents. Of course, as society becomes more complex, new economic differentiation brings into clear view the true economic forces at work. But gravitation did its duty before Newton, as well as after, and economic laws are as fundamental. Confidence in this would have saved Prof. Marshall from his intricate explanations of his application of Ricardo's law of rent to the rise of rents in Tudor times, when the area of wheat-growing fell off.

In the *Westminster Review* for October, Mr. Lawrence Irwell discusses the question: "Shall Great Britain Return to Protection?" The reader is not long left in doubt as to which side of the question this author is on. He has witnessed the great advancement of England in commerce and manufacturing since the repeal of the Corn Laws, and, like so many of his fellow countrymen, and Americans too, for that matter, he ascribes all this progress to the adoption of free trade. Nothing shows his lack of grasp as to the real law of progress so well as his statement that "a return for even five years to the old system of taxation of imports would be very likely to produce such results as existed prior to 1864." England can no more go back to the system of long hours and low wages that existed fifty years ago, than we can live yesterday over again, and this is so no matter what system of taxation she adopts. Mr.

Irwell cites in favor of free trade the fact that English workmen receive higher wages and work less hours than those on the Continent. When he comes to make a comparison between Great Britain and the United States he finds wages higher here. One might hope that this latter fact would shake his faith in free trade as a panacea for industrial evils. But, no, he finds this to be the result of "the abundance of fertile land and the scarcity of laborers (in the United States)!"

If an "abundance of land" caused high wages, Russia and South America would be well in the lead in this respect, whereas the opposite is the case. But even as regards this country, if Mr. Irwell would only investigate a little, he would discover that our people are constantly leaving those sections where "fertile land" can be had for nothing, and making for the cities. This because the land, even with long hours of irksome toil, yields but a poor living. In the city their working day is shorter, they get higher wages, they have a home with modern conveniences, and even luxuries compared with their previous state. Who would not forego the empty proprietorship of land for such solid advantages? The author's "scarcity of laborers" theory is no less lame as an explanation of the higher wages paid in this country. Any scarcity there may be is constantly taken care of by immigration from Europe, the effect of which is that the supply is always greater than the demand. Despite this, wages have steadily advanced.

What Others Say of Us.

I HAVE read the article on "The Two Party Platforms" in your August number, and with entire approval. The line of demarkation between the two parties on the tariff question has never been so clearly drawn as now.—*Senator John Sherman.*

THERE are many articles of interest between the covers of this monthly.—*Newark News.*

WE have just received a copy of the August number of the *Social Economist*, and to say that it is full of good things would be putting it mildly.—*Winchester (Ind.) Herald.*

IN the September number of this well-edited periodical the industrial situation is fully discussed by writers, some of whom are of national reputation. Such publications as the *Economist* will do good even if their views are not always acceptable to their readers.—*St. Louis Christian Advocate.*

I HAVE read with much satisfaction the article on "The Two Party Platforms" in the August number of the *Social Economist*. It is an admirable statement of the precise point in issue between the two parties. Your argument for protection is strong and convincing, and your dismissal of the minor differences between the parties gives distinctness and strength to the Republican position. I have been a constant reader of the *Social Economist*, and have been much pleased with its intelligent and original presentation of economic topics. You deserve success, and I trust you are meeting with the reward commensurate with the ability and earnestness of your service.—*Hon. W. W. Crapo, New Bedford, Mass.*

THE *Social Economist* has its October number filled with timely articles on living subjects.—*Portland Express.*

THE *Social Economist* for September has an important article on "The Industrial Situation," as illustrated at Homestead and Buffalo recently. It holds the view that workmen make a fatal mistake whenever they resort to violence or insubordination, and that their claims to rights in private property are absurd.—*Louisville Courier Journal.*

WE have received the September number of the *Social Economist*, a new magazine to this section, published by the College of Social Economics, in New York City. It is ably edited by Mr. George Gunton, and the contributions to the September number are full of force and timely interest.—*Augusta (Ga.) Evening News*.

IN the September number the economic situation is discussed both in a scientific and common-sense way. We are greatly pleased with it, and commend this monthly for its able, clear setting forth of economic principles.—*Boston Star*.

THE *Social Economist* has for its mission not merely to entertain and amuse, but earnestly, warmly and boldly strives for the betterment of the race, as will be seen by a glance at the contents, in which many notions of the day are ruthlessly crushed. They complete a symposium of the politic questions of the day, exhaustive as pertinent.—*Houston (Tex.) Post*.

THE leading article in the August *Social Economist* is by the editor, Prof. George Gunton, an acknowledged authority on economic questions. He shows the similarity and dissimilarity between the Republican and Democratic platforms, but gives most space to considering what would be the effect on our nation of the free trade so emphatically pronounced for by the Democrats.—*Cottage City Herald*.

IN the rush of fanciful and Utopian schemes for the abolition of poverty the *Social Economist* comes out with a strong common-sense article upon the hopefulness of present methods, rightly used.—*Christian Register*.

THE current number of the *Social Economist* contains the best article we have seen on the Homestead affair, and goes right to the bottom of the trouble. It is written by Prof. Gunton, and is elaborate without being verbose or prosy. Every union man should have the article in full. It gives the unanswerable argument for the "faith that is within him."—*Fort Wayne Labor Herald*.

Editorial Crucible.

Correspondence on all economic and political topics is invited, but all communications, whether conveying facts, expressing opinions or asking questions, either for private use or for publication, must bear the writer's full name and address. And when answers are desired other than through the magazine, or manuscripts returned, communications must be accompanied by requisite return postage.

The editors are responsible only for the opinions expressed in unsigned articles. While offering the freest opportunity for intelligent discussion and cordially inviting expressions of well digested opinions, however new and novel, they reserve themselves the right to criticise freely all views presented in signed articles, whether invited or not.

THE WASHERMEN of Kobé, Japan, announce their adhesion to the movement of advancing civilization by forming a union and declaring a strike for the increased wage of \$2.50 a hundred. And so the lowest laborers "catch on" to the method of civilization.

AT A meeting to establish a so-called "Bethel" for sailors in Chicago, a disturbed seaman was put out for crying out aloud, "We don't want a Bethel; we want higher wages." Doubtless he was out of place, but economically speaking he had better ideas than the Bethelites, since charities can never redeem a class, but more wages can. Wages are the very heart of improvement.

M. NAQUET explains the French electoral system as differing from ours in that the nomination of candidates is made by popular vote, nominees being obliged to secure at least one-quarter of the number of registered voters, and over more than one-half of the persons actually voting. Mr. Theodore Stanton further explains that the Minister of the Interior may use the public money to carry in

government candidates, and has "a machine" so comprehensive as to make it extremely difficult to club an opponent. So discussion is limited, and mass meetings like ours unknown. The French provisions against outright bribery and cheating at the polls are excellent and prohibitory.

HENRY CLEWS proposes the formation of an international clearing house to serve the purposes of exchange now clumsily met by the barbaric shipment to and fro of precious metals between this country and Europe and between different European capitals. As this gold only acts as a credit money in transit to the comparatively final exchange of commodities, it is easy to see that paper or clearing house credits would do much better, saving labor of transfer, freight of metals, risks of passage and time of counting, with many other useless outlays. It would also greatly reduce that lack of gold coin about which silver men and others are so concerned, and if there is such a lack would supply it fully. It would also greatly decrease the tendency to war.

WE EXTEND TO the citizens of the Eleventh Massachusetts Congressional District our hearty congratulations on their selection of General Wm. F. Draper, of Hopedale, as candidate for Congress. To supersede Mr. George Fred. Williams by General Draper will be a contribution to the Fifty-fourth Congress such as few districts have the privilege of making. Besides having experience and sagacity, General Draper is well equipped in the knowledge of public affairs. Unlike Mr. Williams, he is thoroughly American in his interests and sentiments and economic thinking. There are few statesmen or employers in this country whose conception of economics and their relation to national affairs is clearer, or who have broader sympathies, or whose recognition of the social and political importance of advancing the condition of the masses is more firmly

rooted than General Draper's. We trust that he will be elected by a significant majority.

IN HIS annual address to the League of Republican Clubs at Buffalo, General Clarkson said that after the present campaign the next great national issue with which the parties would have to deal would be the labor question. It is to be hoped that Mr. Clarkson will be able to impress the importance of this fact upon Republican leaders throughout the country. Once they realize that the labor question is a national problem which no political party can ignore they will realize as they never have before the importance of making the study of economics a leading feature of political education. Every Republican club, and every Democratic club, for that matter, should be a center for economic education. Since we have no governing class in this country it is eminently important that a scientific knowledge of the principles of industry and government should be a part of the education of every citizen. Mr. Clarkson is surely right. The labor question is the next great issue, and the party which would win must be prepared to deal with it on the broad basis of true democratic evolution.

LADY JEUNE writes about the terrible danger accruing to London society "from its increasing luxury and love of pleasure," as if increasing hardship and love of pain would somehow be better. They tried those in the dark ages—ages of self-flagellation and pilgrimage austerities—with results calculated to make a philanthropist regard pleasure and luxury-loving with minimum satisfaction. We would say give the people more enjoyments everywhere. They will not hurt, but help. Lady Jeune also thinks it bad that women are losing control over society, as if their supervision of it had not always been narrow-minded, and full of small partiality. She deplores also its increasing mercenariness, as if sentimental government had ever

governed reasonably, or produced widespread ameliorations. Fall into step with the age, good lady, and you will find things mending rapidly and nowhere worsening! The past is but a wretched measuring rod for the present, which is far larger every way. Lady Jeune speaks like one of the natural conservatives that well-placed women are. But the world is releasing women rapidly, though against their will.

THE REV. A. A. BUTLER sent a sermon to be read to the Diocesan Convention of New York, September 28, on the wheels of Ezekiel, in which he declaimed rightly enough against selfishness and greed, but declaimed also against the steam-driven wheels of modern industry as "grinding the hope of the working man into despair and bitterness." Is it not of such doctrine that socialists and anarchists are made, and would rightly be made if our modern wheels worked to such an end? But the writer should have added that after all, since the "destruction of the poor is their poverty," nothing that increased wealth could possibly add to their misery, but must rather decrease it, since wealth is the destroyer of the poverty which destroys the poor. He could then have seen that "the living spirit in the wheels" was perpetually doing more and more to redeem the poor, and is inspiriting them to make all sorts of moves to help themselves through trades unions and strikes and laws and whatever will increase their wealth. He would then have seen that "the problem of cities," about which he is concerned, is getting its solution through the very factories against which he declaims in such mistaken rhetoric. Zeal should always be tempered by knowledge.

THE CONDUCT of free-trade Democrats in New York State toward Commissioner Peck lets considerable light in upon their pretensions to honest industrial investigation. Nothing seems to disturb free traders so much as American

prosperity. For nearly two years, by fair means and foul, they have struggled to defeat the development of tin manufacture in this country, even boldly denying the existence of factories almost in sight of their own office. Because Commissioner Peck's report shows that wages have risen and production increased since the passage of the McKinley bill, they have opened an almost brutal attack upon him and demanded his removal from office. A self-appointed committee of purity politicians had the affrontery to demand from the Commissioner all the private data from which his report is made. If such a thing were permitted it would destroy the possibility of obtaining reliable information. Of course business men would not reveal the facts of their business if they were to be handed over to every inflated politician who might for party or personal reasons demand them. This is a part of the same policy as their attack upon the United States Census Bureau. A party that will publicly countenance the forceful suppression of the right to vote in whole communities may be expected to tamper with the industrial statistics or suppress official reports, whenever they do not serve their political aims. Those who talk loudest about their virtues are usually least to be trusted. Pharisees always proclaim from the house-top.

IN HIS ARTICLE in the *North American Review* on the Presidential election, Mr. Blaine seems to mistake the lack of excitement in the present campaign for a lack of public interest, and attributes it to the increase of population and growth of our business interests. Doubtless the growth of industrial interests does lessen the importance of mere politics as a calling, but it can hardly lessen the interest in public affairs, and especially in the economic policy of the nation. We doubt if there is any lack of interest in this campaign, though there is much less excitement. The reason for this is, that the contest this time is not one of political parties but of economic issues. Torches and

drums are effective enough to arouse partisan sentiment and enthusiasm, but reason and information are necessary when economic issues are to be decided. Although there are fewer torch-lights and less red fire this time, there is probably more intense economic discussion than in any previous campaign. And when public sentiment in this country is educated up to a knowledge of the sciences of economic protection, torch-light processions and bass drums will have less influence than ever. Indeed, the tariff question will then pass out of politics. Both parties will be forced to recognize the principle that home wages must be the basis of competition in home markets. All schedules will then be determined according to this economic principle, to fix which it will only be necessary to know the facts in the case. This principle has already found its way into the Minneapolis platform, which says: "*On all imports coming into competition with the products of American labor, there should be levied duties equal to the difference between wages abroad and at home*"; and it is so far recognized among Democrats as to be embodied in the platform that was rejected by the Chicago Convention. No party can be safely intrusted to deal with the tariff question in this country until it rises to the recognition of this principle. Therefore the economic interests of the Republic, which overshadow everything else because they are the basis of national prosperity and development, demand that the Democrats be kept on probation at least another term before they can be intrusted with the shaping of our national policy.

OUR STATEMENT that the price of wheat is not fixed in Liverpool, as is frequently declared by popular writers, appears to have been such a surprise to the *Evening Post* that it calls it "a startling discovery." We asked what there is in Liverpool to fix the price of wheat, and although the *Post* seems to think there is something, it does not tell us what it is. Perhaps it will when it finds out.

The idea that the price of wheat is determined by the cost of production, and therefore at the place where it is produced, seems to be so novel to the *Post* that it tries to laugh, as if wheat were different from shoes or pianos. Perhaps it is laboring under the delusion that because the prices of products are quoted on the Exchange, they are determined there, without regard to their costs of production. But really, does not everybody know that the cost of production governs the price of everything that is produced for sale, and that what Liverpool, London and New York do is not to fix the price at all, but only to report it, and that it varies from year to year according to the cost in spite of all they can do about it—in fact, that they are sometimes so mistaken about estimating the price that they lose fortunes by a change? May we not expect the *Post* some day to be laughing at the notion that gravitation controls the fall of bodies, thinking that such small matters are regulated at 208 Broadway?

To attempt to discuss prices without considering the cost of production is like planning the construction of a house without considering walls and floors. But the *Post* occasionally seems to recognize the fact that prices depend on the cost of production, for in its issue of October 19th it says: "Everybody knows that the cost of living has declined in England during the past thirty years, with the cheapening of the processes of production and transportation." But if the *Post's* notion that the price of wheat is fixed in Liverpool be true, which means that prices are fixed by brokers instead of producers, the "cheapening processes of production and transportation" could have nothing to do with the cost of living. But what seems to trouble the *Post* most is the idea that the price of wheat is determined by the cost of producing the dearest portion of the necessary supply of the market, in reply to which it sagely remarks: "This is cheering news for the poor farmers; all they have to do is to get someone to produce wheat under fearful disadvantages, as in Greenland or

Samoa, hold it unflinchingly in the market at the cost of production, and in that way fix the price for every other wheat country and make him (them) fabulously rich." This must have been written by a novice. The editor of the *Evening Post* could hardly have written anything quite so stupid. We did not say the price of wheat is determined by the dearest portion *that is raised*, but by the dearest portion of the *necessary supply*. If wheat from Greenland or Samoa that cost \$10 per bushel was necessary to the supply, it would determine the price, but just as soon as it ceased to be *necessary* to the supply of the market, its cost of production would cease to affect the price, however long its owners might "hold it unflinchingly in the market." Now, if the principle of differential costs is a "startling discovery" to the *Evening Post*, its economic training must have been greatly neglected, for that is a fundamental principle in the Ricardian law of rent, which every tyro in economics is supposed to understand.

We have several times had to perform the painful duty of correcting the *Post's* wayward economics, but we had hardly thought it capable of such an absurd performance as this, and we trust for the sake of the confiding Mugwumps who rely on it for their economic guidance we shall not see the like again.

SOCIAL ECONOMIST.

DECEMBER, 1892.

The Election: Its Economic Significance.

For thirty years the industrial policy of the United States has been administered by the Republican party. By their votes on November 8th the people decided that this duty shall now be performed by the Democratic party. Nor was the decision a doubtful one. It was too general and emphatic to be accounted for by any mere political accidents. Neither local issues, bad leadership, disappointed bosses nor unfortunate nominations can account for the result. It was a national verdict. It is manifest that throughout the country voters were influenced far more by economic issues than by mere party politics. Nor is it less clear that the real question upon which the people passed judgment was protection.

Whatever may be thought of the wisdom of this decision, it must be admitted that the people meant it. It is not a sudden convulsion, not the result of a panic, but the culmination of a steadily increasing conviction among the people in the most progressive sections of the country. This is the more important because the main issue of the campaign was clearly defined and specifically presented by both parties. The Republicans declared for protection and the Democrats against it, and this was the point upon which the decision of the people was rendered. The verdict was for the Democrats and therefore against protection. That this is a real change in public opinion upon the subject is shown by the fact that for more than a quarter of a century the position of the two parties upon protection and

free-trade has been to a considerable extent the chief dividing line between them.

During the last thirty years at least, the Democratic party has been practically a free-trade party. Nor is this surprising when we remember that it is primarily a southern party. When it undertook the task of establishing a government entirely its own, it made free-trade one of the corner-stones of its constitution, which declared that "No bounties shall be granted from the treasury, nor shall any duties or taxes upon importations from foreign nations be laid to promote or foster any branch of industry." The reason for this is evident. The south had two distinguishing characteristics: its products were agricultural and its producers were slaves. Its chief product being cotton, for which it had no home demand, its prosperity depended upon foreign markets, mainly England, which until recently was the greatest center of cotton manufacture in the world. Had the south been compelled to rely upon its own home market for the consumption of its own products it would have soon been bankrupt. It was only because it could sell its cotton to England that it was able to live at all with slave labor. And it was scarcely less dependent upon England for the manufactured articles it consumed than for the sale of what it produced. Under such circumstances it was very easy for southern planters to accept English economics. The doctrines of the Manchester school were so completely in accord with the local interests of the south that they were naturally accepted as the basis of its political action. Hence the free-trade clause in the Confederate constitution already quoted. Since the south has always been the home of the Democratic party, southern ideas and interests have of course been the center of its industrial and political policy.

The Republican party has an entirely different history. It came into existence as a national party. Its first effort was to save the nation from disruption. Although it had no very definite ideas of economic or political science, it was not

local in its policy like the Democrats, but decidedly national. Nor was it wedded to an industrial system which could only exist with raw-material-producing industries and foreign markets. On the contrary, so far as it had any definite policy at all it stood for national development. Not a nation of wood-cutters, cotton-growers and farmers depending upon Europe for its manufactured commodities; but on the contrary its ambition was to develop a self-sustaining nation—a nation that should manufacture its own raw materials and furnish a market for its own products. This of course meant the development of diversified industries and home markets, which is just the opposite of the Democratic policy of simple industries and foreign markets. Now, for the same reason that local interests and simple industries and foreign markets led Democratic statesmen to favor free-trade, the consideration of national interests, diversified industries and home markets led Republican statesmen to favor protection. This policy has been pursued for a quarter of a century with marvelous success. Such development of industry and advance in general social well-being is not to be found in the annals of human history. Yet in the face of all this the American people have deliberately voted to abandon protection and return to the policy set forth in the Confederate Constitution.

"Our purpose," says Congressman Breckinridge, at the Chamber of Commerce dinner, "is, as God gives us strength, to turn our faces in the opposite direction from that in which we have been going." Why this great change? What has brought it about?

The election returns show that the change of opinion was principally in the cities, the very place where the greatest industrial development and social improvement have taken place, and the growth of general intelligence is most marked. But why should those most benefited by protection be the first to revolt against it? Of course it is not because they are opposed to improvement and desire to return to poorer conditions. It is rather that, being more

intelligent and independent, the masses are gradually becoming more critical as well as more influential in public affairs, which is characteristic of all social advance. With the advance of wealth and individuality laborers grow less willing to unquestioningly follow leaders in any sphere of life. Hence the higher the general intelligence of a community the less dogmatic and more scientific must its statesmanship be, to command public confidence.

Herein lies the secret of the present confused political condition. The Republican party seems not to have realized that the very success of its own policy increased the critical test by which it would be judged. To show that the country is prosperous under a protective policy or Republican administration was once enough to insure public indorsement; but with the growing public intelligence it gradually became necessary not only to show that national prosperity had increased under a protective regime, but also that it had been caused by it. This is just what protectionists have failed to do. Their action has been mainly empirical. Because we have had prosperity under protection they have assumed that it is all due to protection, and hence the higher the tariff the greater the progress. Under the influence of this erroneous impression many absurd things have been done in the name of protection, which have aroused opposition not only to special schedules but finally to the system of protection itself. This opposition came mainly from the professional classes on the one hand and the most intelligent workingmen, especially domestic mechanics, on the other.

The professional classes, having very little real knowledge of affairs, were mainly influenced by abstract reasoning presented in college text-books and standard economic literature, most of which was essentially English and highly flavored with free-trade. Its effect has been greatly emphasized by tariff blunders. Thus the influence of our educational institutions in the north, which the prosperity of our manufacturing and commercial industries had mainly

created and sustained, was gradually developing a public opinion among the cultured classes in favor of free-trade.

Among laboring classes, however, another kind of criticism arose. The tendency of the labor movement in this country during the last fifteen years has been strongly toward socialism, which of course regards with suspicion and distrust all capitalistic prosperity. Without being avowed socialists, American workingmen, especially those connected with labor organizations, believe that capitalists get rich at their expense. In short, they are opposed to capitalists on general principles. It is therefore very easy for them to lose confidence in any political party that comprises the largest number of manufacturers and employers. During the last few years they have very generally begun to believe that the capitalists and not the laborers receive the chief benefit from protective tariffs. Of course this feeling has been steadily encouraged by free-trade doctrinaires who explain that laborers employed in non-protected industries such as building trades, engineers, car-drivers, and domestic industries generally, receive on an average higher wages than those engaged in highly protected industries. From these facts they argue that tariffs do nothing for this class of workmen except tax them for the benefit of others, a kind of reasoning to which workmen are easy converts. Moreover, the abstract reasoning of college free-traders has the advantage of seeming to rest on general economic principles. With a flourish of apparent generalization they cite the doctrine of supply and demand to show that if trade is unrestricted competition will always bring the best men and methods to the front, and insist that interference with competition produces monopoly by which a few are benefited at the expense of the community.

Protectionists have no general principles upon which to rest their reasoning. In fact their economic doctrines, in everything except tariffs, are the same as free-traders'. They have studied the same books, accepted the same

theories of wages, profits, and prices, and consequently are silenced if not convinced by the same arguments. For their chief defense of protection, therefore, they have had to rely upon mere statements of fact for which they have no economic explanation. For example, a familiar method of proving the benefits our workmen receive from protection has been to show that wages are higher here than in free-trade England, but when free-traders retort by asking them to explain why wages are lower in protected Russia, Germany, France, and Austria than in free-trade England, protectionists are confounded. Their inability to explain how tariff benefits laborers in non-protected industries whose wages are higher than those in protected industries is illustrated by Mr. Blaine's utter failure in replying to Mr. Gladstone upon this point.* Nor have they been any better able to explain why free trade is beneficial between states and not between nations.

In view of the failure of the protectionists adequately to deal with the numerous questions thus rising in connection with a tariff policy, it is not surprising that the general public, and especially workingmen, should lose faith in the adequacy of protection and become very indifferent to the claims of the Republican party. In fact, when workingmen become convinced that they have no special interest in protection, there is every reason, with their present feeling toward capital, why they should oppose the Republican party, because to them it is a party of capitalists. It must be admitted that the Republican party and its press have done much to emphasize and strengthen this feeling. While they have claimed that the tariff greatly benefited laborers, they have made it the alpha and omega of their interest in the laborer's condition. On all other questions they have arrayed themselves against the labor movement. In every effort of workingmen to reduce the hours of labor, raise wages, regulate employment of children, etc., the Republican press and statesmen have been opposed to

**North American Review*—Jan., 1890. Cf.—“Principles of Social Economics”—pp. 349-354.

them. Take for instance the Homestead outrage. So far as we know, outside of the New York *Press* and the Dolgeville *Herald*, not a voice was raised by the Republican press in defense of the workmen. Those journals that were not silent actively defended the Carnegie Company.

The reason for all this is that protectionists have never had any philosophical understanding of their case. They have always treated tariffs as a matter of industrial expediency rather than of economic science. They have now received notice, however, that such empirical treatment of public questions will no longer pass for statesmanship. It may be said that all this is equally true of the Democratic party, with the additional fact that they are even opposed to giving workmen whatever benefit may be derived from a protective tariff. It is indeed true that the labor movement has nothing to hope from the Democratic party. That party is by history and conviction a cheap-labor, foreign-market party. Its fundamental principle is negation—let things alone. Both in this country and in England the free-trade party has always been solidly opposed to every phase of industrial legislation to improve the condition of the masses. Every step in the reduction of the hours of labor from fourteen to nine hours a day, legislation to prevent night-work for women and secure education for factory children, was bitterly resisted by the united forces of the free-trade party.

In this country they stood for slave labor, and ever since they lost that they have imitated their English prototypes in opposing all ameliorating legislation for wage laborers. But all this is no defense for the economic backwardness of the Republican party. Cleveland was not elected because workingmen believed more in the Democratic party, but because they believed less in the Republican party. Through its failure to appreciate the growing necessities of modern conditions, the Republican party is nearly as badly out of touch with the new problems of the time in 1892 as was the Democratic party in 1862.

The real significance of the election is that it has broken both parties from their moorings. The sacredness of party lines has been shattered, and henceforth no party can long hold power which does not shape its policy on an altogether higher and broader economic and social plane than either party have heretofore attempted. No great public questions have been settled by this election, but many have become more than ever unsettled. The questions over which the two parties have been contending, chief of which is the tariff, will all have to be discussed anew and settled, if settled at all, on an economic and not a political basis. Many new questions that have hitherto existed only among laymen in a state of agitation will now come to the front demanding practical attention. No party can long afford to ignore or trifle with the labor question, one of the most momentous features of the modern social problem; the southern question, a problem of industrial development and not one of political suppression; the question of municipal government, a problem of national importance because it involves the social conditions of the great mass of our population; the immigration question; the school question; and others of similar import.

To expect the Democratic party to deal philosophically with these problems is to expect a miracle, since to do so it would have to reverse its principles and contradict its whole history. Nevertheless, if it should carry out the proclamation in its platform and abolish the protective feature of our revenue system, it would compass its own defeat at a single stroke. Nor can it continue its opposition to a rational treatment of the labor question and an enlightened policy of municipal government without just as certainly ending its official career. And just as surely would the adoption of its state bank scheme, free coinage of silver, and the perpetuation of brute force politics at the south produce the same results. In short, unless the Democratic party undergoes a more radical change of character than can be reasonably expected, it is safe to predict that its official

life will be short. Its present economic and political doctrines are too completely of the hand-labor, ante-bellum, pro-English type to successfully deal with modern American conditions.

On the other hand, the Republican party must not expect to be floated back to power on a reaction created by Democratic blunders. Although reaction is pretty sure to come, it is not sure to bring grist to the Republican mill. With the present temper of the wage classes and their sentimental sympathizers they are more likely to say "a plague on both your houses," and flock toward a socialistic party, a species of which has already carried several states.

If the Republican party hopes to have a new lease of life it must not wait for the back-water from Democratic failure, but it must take a step forward, reorganize its policy in accordance with the needs of our new conditions, and sustain its history and character as the party of progress. In order to do this it must abandon its empirical method of adapting its industrial policy to political expediency. It must understand that we have reached a state of general intelligence and character where nothing but economic philosophy can safely be made the basis of public policy—not the narrow economics of the English school, which belong to the small factory conditions of the last century, but the social economics of the American school, which belong to the complex conditions of modern industry; not the economics of low wages parsimony and foreign markets, but the economics of high wages and home markets; in short, the economics that recognize the prosperity of the masses as the only real basis for permanent industrial advance and national greatness, to protect and promote which is the function of true statesmanship. The political party that builds on this economic foundation will eventually wield political power, primarily because the masses are intelligent enough to know who their friends are when they see them, and afterwards because the results will vindicate the policy of the party in the eyes of all the

people. Whenever home products are protected as far as is necessary to cover the difference in wages between American labor and cheaper foreign labor using the same machinery, they will continue to be produced, because the higher wages are simply the label of a higher capacity for consumption, which is itself the home market that manufacturers want reserved for them.

With modern economics to guide them, Republicans would not hopelessly float into the meshes of free-trade doctrinaires, but would have a truly scientific basis for protection—a protection that would guard our civilization without restricting freedom and protect our wages without fostering monopoly. They would also find themselves in full accord with the rational demands of organized labor, without favoring anarchy or socialism; they would have a complete economic justification for supporting the efforts to obtain an eight-hour system, for adding free kindergartens to our public school system and providing half-time schools for working children under sixteen, and for other reforms of a similar character. With such a programme the Republican party would secure not only the confidence but the hearty co-operation of the masses, and again become the party of the nation and the pride of the republic.

War and Progress.

The progress of modern civilization has been marked by successive triumphs of the industrial over the militant spirit in the organization and government of societies. The ideal of an industrial commonwealth of the world, wherein nations shall be at peace with each other, and in which the principle of nationality shall be subordinate to that of humanity and brotherhood, has been gradually taking possession of the minds of the advanced thinkers and statesmen of recent generations. To this end also the higher, non-sectarian conception of Christianity has largely contributed,—a conception originally formulated in an era of international amity, when ethnic limitations had largely been annihilated by the union of diverse nationalities in the world-conquering Empire of Rome. The ideal of a universal church succeeded that of a universal empire, and preserved the conception of a human brotherhood transcending ethnic and racial limitations when the dissolution of the Empire permitted the reconstruction of European societies within national boundary lines.

It is not remarkable, therefore, that the advocacy of peace between nations has been largely conducted from the sentimental and religious rather than from the sociological and scientific point of view. The horrors of fratricidal strife have been vividly portrayed, war has been denounced as the age-long enemy of the human race, and no serious effort has been made to estimate the real part which it has played in the onward march of civilization and the development of human character.

To the modern sociologist, however, viewing the history of the race in the light of evolutionary principles, it is evident that war has contributed no insignificant part in the development of man and of societies. Primitive man was a grown-up child—a “powerless, pulpy soul,” lacking

in physical stamina, deficient in courage, given over to wild imaginings and irrational fears of the universe around him,—a being whose social instincts were weak and undeveloped and who was therefore incapable of co-operating with his fellows either in industrial enterprise or social intercourse.

Like the brute animals, he was subjected to the inexorable necessity of struggling for existence, and to the operation of the unerring law of natural selection; and herein lay one of the conditions of his salvation from the impotent animalism of his original estate. In the long conflict with the forces of nature, the savage beasts who were his predecessors in the possession of the earth, and the almost equally savage men who were his companions and competitors in the struggle for life and sustenance, some of the primary virtues of human character were developed—courage, endurance, persistency, confidence in his own powers, and that capacity for discipline and co-operative action which is such an important factor in all the occupations of life.

As Mr. Bagehot has shown, “civilization begins because the beginning of civilization is a military advantage.” In the conflict of families, clans and tribes, that combination would have a manifest advantage which cohered most strongly and co-operated most harmoniously. Even the slightest advantage in this respect would constitute a variation which would at once be recognized, and perpetuated by the operation of the principle of natural selection. A slightly greater degree of coherence, at first the accidental product of external conditions, would soon be consciously regarded as a military advantage, and deliberately aimed at as an end essential to military success. In this way, families were impelled to coalesce into clans, clans into phratria and tribes, tribes were differentiated into more compact and coherent village communities, these united into cities, and thus formed the nucleus of the state and nation.

Along with this process of differentiation and integration, obedient to the law of conflict and external compulsion, came the opportunity for more intimate and harmonious social intercourse; and given the opportunity for social advancement, the fact is always certain speedily to follow. Thus the higher social and domestic virtues were naturally superimposed upon the primitive and ruder virtues developed by conflict; and as communities won repose through the triumphs of their arms, the energies thus evolved were directed to competitive efforts in industrial pursuits, ultimating in the nobler triumphs of labor, invention, and the varied and beneficent arts and occupations of peace.

Nor is this primitive stage of human progress the only one in which war has been a direct and powerful influence in the advancement of civilization. With the consolidation of communities and the development of ethnic civilizations the "cake of custom," as Mr. Bagehot happily terms it, often hardened around the life of the individual until further progress was stifled, and character was compelled to conform to a rigid and invariable ethnic or national type. Such types we find in Assyria and Egypt, in certain savage races which have been for a long time subjected to an unchanging environment, and in extant nations like China which have steadfastly repelled association with the outside world. Wars of conquest have often operated to break up such static conditions of society, and establish anew an environment favorable to further sound evolution. If the "cake of custom" has been too long hardened around a people, so that they are incapable of progress, they succumb in the resulting struggle. If able to assimilate the customs and ideas of a higher civilization they take on a new and progressive life. The blood and institutions of different races have thus often been mingled, and nobler races and institutions have arisen to bless and civilize the world.

Coming down to modern times, it may be asked: Has

war played anything but an evil and reactionary part in the recent progress of the race? Militancy and industrialism are evidently antagonistic in their leading aims and tendencies. The one removes permanently a large number of possible wealth-producers from the field of productive labor which the other would fain restore, thus adding to the accumulated wealth of the community. The one destroys property which the other has struggled to create. The one is reckless of human life, while the other regards fullness and sanctity of life as the end of all human endeavor. The one would perpetuate racial and national prejudices and antagonisms, while the other would foster a world-wide sentiment of brotherhood and friendly co-operation. The one preaches the religion of enmity, the other the religion of amity. What worthy part, then, can militancy play in the nobler civilization of the present day?

We must not be too hasty in answering this question. Leaving out of the problem such occurrences as our late civil war—a contest on the part of the North in behalf of unity and free labor, wherein the military power of the nation may properly be regarded as a mere adjunct to its police service—and we still have to admit that war has played a necessary and on the whole a beneficent part in some of the great movements of our modern civilization. How, for example, could our own nation have severed its umbilical connection with the mother country, and achieved its right to development as a free and independent commonwealth, save by the rude surgery of war? England has never willingly relinquished her grasp upon territory once acquired, nor has her treatment of her colonies been such that we can imagine anything like our present progressive civilization as a possibility under the conditions of colonial life. It is true that our example has not been lost upon the mother country or upon her colonies; with a larger wisdom gained by experience she allows comparative freedom and autonomy to Canada, Victoria, and New

South Wales; but the same policy which forbade the importation of machinery and skilled operatives into the American colonies, and forced opium upon China with an armed hand, still holds India in its iron grasp and makes her industries subservient to the greed of English capitalists.

In Europe, also, war has served liberty and a higher civilization in our own generation by the overthrow of the temporal power of the papacy, the unification of Italy and Germany, and the establishment of the French Republic. These things having been accomplished, however, the question is again presented to the philosophical thinker whether war has not done its legitimate work, and whether, by a modification of the law of nations, the approximate disarmament of Europe may not be effected, and the enormous waste entailed by the support of standing armies and the withdrawal of millions of able-bodied workers from the ranks of the wealth-producers may not be stopped, with resultant benefits to the toiling masses and a tremendous impetus toward the triumph of a world-wide industrial civilization.

It is true that no art has advanced with more rapid strides during the last half of the nineteenth century than the art of war; and this may seem to the superficial thinker to militate against the prospects of a speedy reign of peace among civilized nations. It is to be noted, however, that as weapons have become more deadly and the war-like arts more effective, contests between nations are of shorter duration, and the actual loss of life in battle is relatively lessened. If this tendency continues, may we not expect to see war cease by reason of the very perfection of its engines of destruction? Again, it is undeniable that the steady progress of industrialism is accompanied by a higher conception of the value of human life. From the standpoint of the employer of labor in the purely selfish aspect of the question, lives are actually worth more, in dollars and cents, than they were a century or even a half-century ago. On the other hand, the wage-earner is

naturally an internationalist. His "fatherland" is the land which secures him the best living, which provides opportunity, which treats him with equity and justice. When the wage-earners of Europe are once thoroughly aroused to the fact that militancy is not only an assault upon their persons but also upon their pockets, that war taxes perceptibly increase the difficulty of feeding and clothing their families, they will demand with one voice the reduction of the standing armies of Europe to a minimum and the universal recognition of the principle of international arbitration. This influence it is, more than any other, which to-day restrains France and Germany from renewing their ancient feud, and which is turning the armies of Russia into an adjunct to the police force. Every new invention of industrial machinery, every introduction of such inventions into nations where they have not heretofore been utilized, is at once an influence in the direction of larger freedom in local institutions, and a safeguard for the security of peace between nations.

In a recent thoughtful article in the *North American Review*, Mr. Henry Labouchere discusses the problem as to the peace of Europe, recognizing the fact that conditions there existing are essentially different from those which have prevailed heretofore, but venturing no confident prophecy as to the final outcome of the present state of "armed peace." Manifestly, so long as enormous standing armies are maintained, and no recognized plan for international arbitration has been perfected and adopted, the possibilities of war are many. Yet, as Mr. Labouchere asserts, all the great Continental powers of to-day dread war, and the opportunity is offered under more favorable auspices than ever before for reverting to a real peace policy.

"Either the Continental powers must reduce their forces," Mr. Labouchere declares, "or they will soon, one and all, be ruined. The richest country is France, and there the taxation is enormous. Both Austria and Ger-

many are comparatively poor. Russia's credit is only maintained by the French being ready to buy its bonds; Italy is practically bankrupt already." Russia, he might have added, is spending more every year than her total income, with her army on a "peace footing." The expense of maintaining her standing army of 835,000 men is about 450,000,000 roubles or \$337,000,000 per annum, which is nearly sixty per cent. of the total expenses of her government; and much of the additional forty per cent. is necessitated by the essentially militant structure of her society. Germany supports her standing army of nearly 500,000 men, together with her navy, invalid fund and military pensions, at an expense of £22,871,105, or almost \$114,355,525, which is more than eighty per cent. of her total annual expenditures. France pays annually for the maintenance of her "peace establishment" of 521,000 men 717,770,952 francs, or about \$143,554,190—nearly one-third of her entire expenditure. England, more favorably situated than the Continental nations, taxes herself more than £27,000,000 annually (\$135,000,000) for the support of her army of 133,735 men and her navy and marine force of 54,000 men. This is more than one-third of the total expenditure of the kingdom. Compared with this, it would appear that America, with her small standing army of 28,526 men, and relatively insignificant navy, should bear but a moderate burden of war expenses; but including pensions and interest on the war debt, our annual tribute to Mars amounts to upwards of \$245,000,000 at the present time, or sixty per cent of the total expenditure of our government. This is exclusive of about \$100,000,000 additional, appropriated annually to the payment of the principal of the war debt. Our pension list alone involves an annual expenditure of \$140,000,000, or a larger sum than that required to support the standing army of the German Empire—an amount which has steadily increased since the close of the Civil War, and which, in spite of the great wealth of our country, is a serious tax

upon the pockets of the people. Every sound principle of economics affirms that this enormous tribute to the god of war is an absolute waste of the substance of the people, unless it can be proved to be necessary to the maintenance of the conditions of a progressive civilization.

There are many indications that this question is absorbing more and more the attention of the statesmen and thinkers of Europe—that more and more the wage-laborers, who are the chief sufferers, both in person and in pocket, by the maintenance of a militant civilization, are becoming emancipated from that fiery and spread-eagle form of patriotism which Dr. Johnson well characterized as “the last refuge of the scoundrel.” In our country, in the weeks preceding our quadrennial presidential contest, it often seems to be his first and most natural refuge.

It does not follow, however, that nationalities will become extinct with the disarmament of Europe, or that the nation will cease to play an important part in the future progress of civilization. On the contrary, it is probable that the nation, like the individual, can attain its most typical and characteristic development only under a free, industrial régime, emancipated from the distorting constraints of militancy. When all its force can be applied to internal development, the integration of the national structures will proceed with far greater rapidity than at present, and each people will attain a mode of life, a distinctive character, adapted to its racial and physical antecedents and environment. The hordes of industrial workers of Germany, Italy and Russia which now swarm to our freer and more hospitable shores to avoid compulsory military service will remain contentedly at home, and we shall be permitted to perfect our own national type of civilization and manhood without the interference of yearly assaults from myriads of foreign immigrants, unacquainted with our language and institutions.

In the last days of August in the present year the annual meeting of the International Parliamentary Confer-

ence was held in Berne, Switzerland, composed of one hundred members of the national parliaments of twelve of the leading nations of Europe. The question of peace and international arbitration was discussed temperately, from the practical and scientific rather than the sentimental standpoint, and certain moderate recommendations were made to the nations of Europe, looking in the direction of the establishment of permanent relations of peace. Happily our own country has enjoyed the enviable opportunity of taking the initiative in this great movement, through the recommendations of the Pan-American Congress, transmitted to the nations of Europe with the cordial endorsement of Secretary Blaine, in behalf of President Harrison. Our government has thereby indicated its willingness to enter into a treaty of arbitration with any nation on the American continent which will thus reciprocate; and it unites in recommending a like reciprocal agreement to the nations of Europe. This proposition received the hearty endorsement of the International Parliamentary Conference, and was hailed as a thoroughly practical step in the direction of permanent peace between nations.

The Parliamentary Conference also recommended the adoption of a new canon of international law, guaranteeing the protection of private property on the high seas in the time of war. This also would constitute an important step toward the complete triumph of the industrial type of civilization. The revival of militant tendencies in our own country as a result of our civil conflict, and the present absorption of the greater part of our national income for militant purposes, together with the known facts as to the present social and industrial conditions prevailing in the nations of Europe, offer abundant evidence that a dominant militant spirit is a check on industrial progress, and a distortion of the free development of national life. Many social and economic reforms which are now clearly seen to be desirable will be compelled to await the further

discouragement of militancy and the relative disarmament of the nations. Favorably situated as is our own country, protected by ocean barriers from the active rivalry of powerful nations, and fearing no domestic foe, our responsibility is great in relation to this important question. Whatever the event may prove, and whatever may be our individual judgments as to the practicability of a speedy disarmament of Europe, whatever may be our convictions, as philosophical evolutionists, of the part which war has played in the earlier progress of the race, we can hardly fail to recognize the assertion of Mr. Herbert Spencer as fundamentally true of the great industrial civilization which is the noblest product of our century: "*With war come all the vices and with peace come all the virtues. . . . The suppression of international antagonisms is the one reform which will bring all other moral reforms.*"

LEWIS G. JANES.

Atkinson vs. Atkinson.

Mr. Edward Atkinson seems to be officiating as the high priest of the free trade propaganda in New England, and to be presiding at all the sacrificial ceremonies. His recent address before the Tariff Reform League adds little or nothing to his frequently published views on the tariff question; it is rather a resumé of them. It therefore affords an opportunity to test the question: Is he a safe pilot to follow, in a voyage of discovery after new and strange economic policies for the United States?

Before his plans and theories are accepted, they should be critically examined. I propose to examine them somewhat in the light of Mr. Atkinson's own teachings. I find one can prove almost anything from his writings; and I may therefore appropriately entitle this paper, "*Atkinson versus Atkinson.*"

Mr. Atkinson began his address with an explanation or apology for an expression in one of his recent papers, which, he truly says, has afforded great satisfaction to protectionists. It describes, somewhat vividly, the extraordinary prosperity and advancement which the United States has attained, after thirty years of protection. I therefore adopt it as my text, from the "*Epistles of Atkinson,*" as follows:

"There has never been a period in the history of this or any other country when the general rate of wages was as high as it is now, or the prices of goods, relatively to the wages, as low as they are to-day, nor a period when the workman, in the strict sense of the word, has so fully secured to his own use and enjoyment such a steadily and progressively increasing proportion of a constantly increasing product."

Mr. Atkinson finds satisfaction in the fact that protectionists find satisfaction in this quotation. "I may as-

sume," he says, "that my authority is admitted by my opponents, and I take great satisfaction in that recognition."

Protectionists are glad to quote Mr. Atkinson whenever he bears testimony which confutes and confounds the calamity party. It is testimony in favor of protection from one who is recognized by the opponents of protection as an authority. Whenever Mr. Atkinson certifies that the Cassandra utterances which darken the free-trade press are *vox et præterea nihil*, he does a service, because he makes a case of Atkinson *versus* Atkinson. Not every philosopher is so philosophical as to take "great satisfaction" in finding himself quoted against his own philosophy.

We find from Mr. Atkinson, then, that the present condition of the United States is "relatively prosperous." Moreover, we find him, at the outset, bravely facing the logic of his own diagnosis; and at the end always running away from it, like that King of France with 20,000 men, who marched so boldly up the hill, and then—marched down again.

"We must prove," he says, "that this progress has been made in spite of tariff obstructions;" and that, he adds, "is not difficult."

Certainly you must, Mr. Atkinson. You are the plaintiff in this suit, and the burden of proof is upon you at every point. If it is "not difficult" to prove this, why is it never done? I have read Mr. Atkinson's writings with some care, in a search after the evidence. I have found this opinion of his reiterated in a hundred different forms, some of them evincing great ingenuity. But I have found nothing else, and I knew his opinion before. Mr. Atkinson has never proved it, David A. Wells has never proved it, Professors Perry and Sumner have never proved it. The mystery of mysteries is, that this demonstration, said to be so easy to make, and certainly so vital to the validity of the economic theory of the American free-trader, is never made, and is so methodically and overwhelmingly disproved by the daily march of events!

In the thirty years of generally adequate protection since the war, and in spite of the enormous waste, the unmeasured losses and the mammoth debt incurred by that war, the United States has advanced in wealth, in commerce, in everything that makes for the material prosperity and the general happiness of her people, in a ratio unprecedented in her own previous history, and without a parallel in the history of any people since human records begin. That much we *can* prove by Mr. Atkinson's writings. We can prove it by any of the financial statements of the treasury department. We can prove it by the totals of our railroad tonnage. We can prove it by the results of the decennial censuses. The plain, bold facts of our industrial development are so stupendous that they throw out of relationship all standards of comparison. They destroy all proportion between our growth and any other growth. They take all significance out of percentages. That is why Mr. Atkinson cannot prove that a progress unprecedented has been retarded by a tariff for protection. He cannot prove it, because no data exist by which to test the question.

Because this progress has been unprecedented, because it is all we can do to keep up with it, because we cannot reap as fast as we sow, we have a right to assume that the economic policy under which we are living and working and advancing has been an important factor in it. No intelligent protectionist claims that it has been the only factor, or even the chief factor. What we claim is, that it has played an essential part in the unfolding of this spectacle of nationality before which the world bows. We claim that it is a case for *a posteriori* instead of *a priori* reasoning. We judge cause by effect, and decline to admit that the effect is not good because the cause is unsatisfactory to our opponents. We demand something more than the speculations of the library, the theories of industrial transcendentalists, and the denunciations of our rivals across the water, as a reason for cutting our present

policy out by the roots, and replacing it by the economic policy devised by Great Britain for the purpose of compelling all the nations of the earth to pay tribute to her commercial and industrial supremacy.

Mr. Atkinson's proposition is, that the removal of all duties on competing articles will neither destroy or cripple our industries, built up by these duties, *because*—and I ask you to mark the words, for they contain all there is to Mr. Atkinson's philosophy—*because* we, in the United States, can produce these competing articles, “paying the highest wages, at the lowest labor cost” of any country. In a word, he claims that with no duties at all on our cottons and woolens, or on any materials in any way essential to their manufacture, we can undersell English, French, German and Belgian manufacturers, and continue to pay wages 75 and 100 per cent. higher than they pay.

For one, I am ready to admit that if Mr. Atkinson is right in this fundamental proposition, protectionists must revise their premises. It behooves us, therefore, to examine this statement—on its face so contradictory that its author describes it as a paradox. Is it simply a paradox, or a paradox and a sophism rolled into one?

Mr. Atkinson offers in evidence certain investigations as to the cost of manufacturing, here and abroad, now being conducted by Hon. Carroll D. Wright, the chief of the National Bureau of Labor Statistics. But Col. Wright has written concerning his tables for textiles, which are the chief feature of these investigations, “there can be no comparison [from them] as between the labor cost of articles in one country and the labor cost in another, and the attempt should not be made.” I do not understand why Mr. Atkinson, quoting Col. Wright as an authority, should take for granted that which Col. Wright says is impossible. I have letters from Col. Wright confirming the statement just quoted from him, and pointing out the delusive character of these comparative percentages of labor cost.

Let me show by an illustration how delusive they are. We have a piece of goods costing to make in the United States \$2.00 per yard, and \$1.25 in Great Britain. The wool in that yard will cost in the United States, say, \$1.00, and in Great Britain 75 cents. It will simplify the illustration to assume that all the remaining cost is labor; and it will be \$1.00 in the United States and 50 cents in England. On the percentage theory the labor cost is 50 per cent. of the total cost in the United States, and 40 per cent. in Great Britain—an apparent difference of but 10 per cent. But the actual difference in the expense for labor is the difference between \$1.00 and 50 cents, or 100 per cent. of the foreign labor cost.

Mr. Atkinson has proved to everybody's satisfaction the self-evident proposition that high wages, with the aid of machinery, make a lower labor cost than low wages applied to hand labor. That is indeed an axiom, having none of the elements of a paradox. Neither has it anything to do with his present proposition, which concerns only the comparative cost of manufacturing in countries where mechanical appliances are practically identical.

We are dealing only with the new conditions created by modern machinery. We are dealing only with industries in which machinery has reached its greatest perfection, and is applied with equal aptitude by all manufacturing nations. This inanimate mechanism, while enormously increasing the world's productive capacity, has necessarily minimized the relative importance of the human mechanism which operates it. In all industries where the machine is the most important element in determining the cost of production, this must always be the case. The steam engine will drive machinery at the same rate of speed all over the world. A Worcester (Massachusetts) loom (which is better than any English loom, and is therefore used in England), has the same speed there as at Lowell or Fall River; will weave as many picks per minutes there as here; and one operative can run as many. A frame equipped

with General Draper's spindles can spin the same number of pounds of cotton yarn everywhere. No appliance of Yankee ingenuity for reducing labor cost, saving materials, or expediting processes, fails of adoption on the other side as soon as it proves its value here. The producing capacity of the operative, no matter how intelligent, is limited by the same conditions wherever machinery is intelligently run. The measure of that capacity is determined by the machine he operates, and it is practically the same in England, on the Continent and here at home. If, then, the cotton spinner in Manchester and Fall River can each spin 75 pounds of No. 30 yarn in a day, if the wages of the Manchester spinner are one-half those of the Fall River spinner, then the labor cost of that 75 pounds of yarn is just double in America the labor cost of the same yarn in Manchester. No sophistry, no percentages, no polemics, no paradoxes, can make it less, so long as the rule holds good that two and two make four. That being so, when we come to live under Mr. Atkinson's tariff, we shall either stop making the yarn, or our spinners will make it for English wages.

A two-ply worsted yarn costs to make in Bradford 10 cents, and in Lawrence 25 cents, calculating from the scoured wool, and assuming the cost of the material to be the same. To weave that yarn into a worsted diagonal costs in Bradford 25 cents a yard, and in Lawrence 50 cents a yard. Why is that? The Bradford Chamber of Commerce has ascertained by a careful investigation that the average earnings of weavers in that city in 1890, with no allowance for broken time, were \$3.24 per week. Twice that is \$6.48, and I know of no American woolen mill whose weavers earn less.

From whatever point of view we examine the matter, we come to the same result. Apply the same test to the machinery, apply it to every item of current expense, including the use of the capital, for all these expenses are

nothing but labor in the last analysis, and the result is always the same.

These things are so patent, and they are so controlling, as the chief factor in the test of the Atkinson paradox, that there is not an English economist who would not laugh at Mr. Atkinson's statement that, paying wages 75 to 100 per cent. higher than are paid in England, we can produce any class of textiles at a cheaper labor cost. I wonder if he has read the concluding paragraphs of Mr. Isaac Watts' treatise on the Cotton Manufacture in the Encyclopedia Britannica? There is not a British manufacturer who will not pronounce the paradox as preposterous as it appears on its face to be. They know that English operatives, by reason of inherited expertness and longer training, are capable of doing as much and as effective work as our own. With more abundant opportunities for advancement, our operatives are constantly changing, while those of England commonly remain in the same mills from childhood to death—or the work-house.

We may pardon the Englishman for declining to admit that the American workman can accomplish twice as much as his own, in a given time; for we do not believe it ourselves. Mr. Atkinson's paradox is nothing but a phantasm. It vanishes like dew in the sunlight of analysis. Mr. Atkinson's air castle goes with it; it is

* * * "such stuff
As dreams are made of."

This is a proper connection in which to express regret at the presence, in Mr. Atkinson's paper, of numerous expressions to the effect that the present tariff is merely an instrument to promote the private gain of individuals, and bestow government bounty upon manufacturers. No man knows any better than Mr. Atkinson that this charge or insinuation is as false as it is ungracious. His official position affords him special opportunities to learn how baseless it is, and he has frequently borne witness to its falsity. In his just published book, "Taxation and Work," he says:

"There has been no excessive profit covering a long period either in the textile or metal industries that have been stimulated by a protective tariff. According to the observation of the writer, covering fifty years, the protected industries have been subjected to greater fluctuations, greater variations, and to heavier losses, than almost any other branches of industry."

I need not refer to General Draper's analysis of corporate earnings in the protected industries of New England (*SOCIAL ECONOMIST*, September, 1892), showing average dividends not exceeding 5 per cent., beyond adding that there is general agreement that the protected industries sustain no advantage whatever, so far as returns upon capital are concerned, over the industries requiring no protection.

It is perfectly true, as Mr. Atkinson says, that the protected industries have been subjected to greater fluctuations, and heavier losses, than other branches of industry. It is pertinent to inquire why this is so. There can be but one explanation. It is because these particular industries are the only industries which are subject to foreign competition. All the others are protected by nature.

Here we touch the point at which protectionists and free traders divide. Because these industries are thus exposed to the assault and the capture of foreign rivals, does that fact supply a sufficient reason why we should abandon them? Does the single circumstance that labor and capital are cheaper abroad than at home, constitute, by and of itself, the sufficient reason why we shall not clothe ourselves, as well as feed ourselves? In the last analysis, the sole argument of the free trader is contained in that question. Is it a valid argument? Our citizens have a right to differ as to the true answer. It is the only point of difference. All the rest is a mere begging of the question. The logic of the free trader's position compels him to answer it with a Yes: If England can make our clothing cheaper than we can make it, then England ought to be

permitted, without interference by a tariff, to make our clothing. That is the sum and substance of free trade, as applied to the United States. The sum and substance of protection, on the other hand, is that we are more independent and self-reliant if we manufacture all that we want which we are capable of manufacturing as well as any other people ; and that we are the gainers in the economic sense, after we have equalized the difference in the cost of production. It is between these two propositions, stripped of all verbiage, that the choice lies.

The case of Atkinson vs. Atkinson may be very well summed up by placing his statements as industrial investigator, and free-trade advocate, side by side :

**Atkinson, The Industrial
Investigator.**

"There has never been a period in the history of this or any other country when the general rate of wages was as high as it is now, or the prices of goods, relatively to the wages, as low as they are to-day, nor a period when the workman, in the strict sense of the word, has so fully secured to his own use and enjoyment such a steadily and progressively increasing proportion of a constantly increasing product."

**Atkinson, The Free-trade
Advocate.**

"From every side and from every department of industry comes up the word, we have asked for bread and you gave us a stone. You have promised us greater activity ; we are subject to depression."

All that the protectionists ask is that Atkinson's statesmanship be judged by his own utterances, and that our tariff policy be judged by its fruits.

S. N. D. NORTH.

The Law (?) of Supply and Demand.

What fixes the price of any article? What makes wheat worth a dollar a bushel and flour five dollars a barrel? Why is the price of wheat 75 cents at one time and \$1.25 a bushel at another? The reply is everywhere the same: "Supply and demand determine that." "The ratio changes, and that changes the price."

This reply is given not only by business men but by philosophers; by the practical man of affairs whose lines are cast in the midst of human activity, and by the pure theorist, who views the world from the seclusion of his library and speculates on the current of events, their causes and sequences. Moreover, on each side the reply is given with the confidence not only of absolute knowledge, but also of having said all there is to be said upon the subject. Everything concerning price is apparently thoroughly understood and explained. But are the causes traced to their last analysis? Is the *why* clearly set forth in the statement so universally given regarding price levels and price variations?

It has been remarked that much philosophy is wanted for the correct observation of things which are before our eyes. The nearness of the objects obscures them from view. We get only a narrow, partial, limited and one-sided look at the things with which we are most familiar. As a consequence, our conception of their real nature is likely to be inaccurate. Much philosophy is needed to full understanding.

Perhaps no better illustration could be afforded of the truth of this saying than is given in the prevalence of incorrect notions concerning trade and the nature of prices, and in the persistence of utterly unscientific ideas. Trade is so universal; buying and selling is so completely a matter of the everyday experience of a large part of man-

kind; exchange has been for so long a time part of the life of humanity—in a word, everybody has seen so much of purchase and sale at near view that their real nature is hidden behind the apparent, and forgotten. The strong current lying under the slightly ruffled surface and the forces controlling the course of the stream are obscured and neglected.

Many people, for instance, are constantly hoping to get something for nothing in trade, forgetting that this is robbery and that trade is an exchange of equivalents. Nearly everyone expects to gain only what someone else loses, confounding the nature of trade with that of gambling. Even careful students continue to speak of trade as a "ratio," when it is clear that the correct mathematical expression is "two simultaneous equations of two variables." Everywhere it is the purchaser who is looked upon as fixing the price. Yet price means a trade, an actual exchange. Price means agreement between two individuals. It signifies mutual advantage. Each party to the transaction possesses something the other wants. Each wants what the other has and wants it more than he wants what he has himself. It is true that each strives to give as little and get as much as is possible, in units of product, in every particular trade; but in order that trade may be general and continuous, where knowledge of industry and of the market exist, buyer and seller must each gain; each must get what will satisfy more of his wants or satisfy them more completely than what he gives in trade would have done.

If a man sells a farm of a thousand acres for a city lot of a few feet front, it is because the city lot will satisfy more of his wants than the farm will, or more completely satisfy the same wants. If a man sells a pair of shoes for a hat, or a dozen bushels of wheat for a suit of clothes, or fifty tons of coal for a piano, it is because the hat, or the clothes, or the piano are worth more to him; and someone else buys the shoes, or the wheat, or the coal because

these articles are worth more to him in the light of the effort he must put forth to get them. Each compare cost and satisfaction in the different lines. Trade results only when the two equations of the two variables,—efforts and satisfactions,—are simultaneous. Trade continues only so long as they are simultaneous.

Mankind is everywhere at work on this problem of comparing cost with returns, pain with pleasure; and people move from place to place or transfer their labor and capital from one industry to another, capital is "distributed" and redistributed and again distributed in industry, in accordance with the ever-changing answer which the various portions of humanity are giving to this question as the years go by. The result of this universal movement is to bring the value of all commodities to the level of their comparative cost by equalizing the ratio of effort, or of the pain in acquiring each commodity—in a word, *the ratio of cost* to the satisfaction derived from enjoying the product of our labor. This reduces trade to an exchange of equivalents, and gives us the fundamental and universal law of price. The value of anything which is freely offered for sale tends to the level of the cost of producing the most expensive portion of the necessary supply. For the producers of the less expensive portions of the supply are reasonably certain to collect the profits which their various advantages in production give them, and the consumers of the supply are equally certain to retain in their pockets any excess above the cost of the most expensive portion, which excess the producer of that portion might exact if he were the only producer from whom they could buy.

Price, in the long run, is not fixed by the whim of the buyer or the necessity of the seller. Indeed, in a sense, there are no "buyers" and no "sellers," for to buy is to sell and to sell is to buy. One must give if he would get, in trade. Both of the parties to the trade must be industrially in a better situation, or the intelligent economic exchange of commodities or services ceases, and robbery,

gambling, dishonest practices of all sorts take its place. Trade in the true economic sense tends ever toward an exchange of proportionate amounts of effort which have been embodied in things capable of satisfying human wants and desires. Instead of its being true that price depends upon and is fixed by the ratio of supply to demand, the reverse is nearer the truth. The ratio is an effect rather than a cause, if it can be said that there is any ratio. The real sequence is this:

- (1) Demand occasions production;
- (2) Cost of production determines price;
- (3) Price insures supply.

In forming an estimate of the scientific value of any statement we should keep constantly in mind the character of scientific law. The scientist collects, examines, arranges, reasons about a certain class of facts. By extended study he finds there are "lines of uniformity running through the manifestations of a force or power;" that a certain result will always follow when certain causes are at work under given conditions. The scientist ascertains the sequence of events. A law is the statement of the way a force acts under certain conditions, or of the line of uniformity in facts of a given class. The statement is of value in proportion as it explains the way in which a force acts under conditions most likely to exist, and explains it in a manner to be easily understood by all and not easily misunderstood by any. A law which is likely to have false conclusions drawn from it is, to say the least, an unfortunate discovery. If it explains but a small portion of the facts of a given class it is doubly unfortunate. With this before us as a measure, what is to be said of the law of supply and demand?

It is clear in the first place that it is not the correct and complete statement of the lines of uniformity in price phenomena; it does not explain the facts of price everywhere and always. If supply and demand are identical (Cairnes), or are opposite sides of the same thing (Walker),

it is difficult to see how there is a ratio or indeed any relation between them. It is still more difficult to understand how the law (?) in any way explains the fact regarding price when demand and supply are always spoken of as quantities at a price. "Demand means the quantity of a given article which would be taken at a given price." This means simply that the desire of people is something we can speculate concerning. We can safely say that the desire of Americans to possess first-class oil-paintings or water colors at a dollar per square foot is great, but it does not show why we are willing to pay a dollar and more per square inch. We can safely say that there are thousands of people in Europe and America who desire wheat at fifty cents instead of a dollar, but the definition of demand as the quantity which would be taken at a given price only confuses our thought and leads to no explanation of why a given price is regularly paid for wheat or for other commodities or for services.

Supply is likewise defined as the quantity of a given article which could be had at a given price. Here again is speculation and not explanation. But why speculate as to what the supply of wheat in New York or Chicago would be at 5 cents a bushel or as to what demand would be at \$5 a bushel, when the price facts are here needing explanation at the hands of scientific economists? Indeed, can we, in the light of our present knowledge, speak with any propriety of supply of wheat in New York or Chicago at 5 cents a bushel? Is there any such thing? Is there ever a regular supply of anything anywhere freely poured into society circulation below the cost of producing the most expensive portion of that supply? Desire leads men to work, but speculation concerning it does not fix or cause price.

Demand, as an economic term, signifies effectual desire. When the members of any community want things badly enough they proceed to work for them. When they want them badly enough to pay the cost of producing them certain individuals are specially differentiated

to produce the given things. When people want roller skates badly enough or strongly enough to pay the cost of producing them, labor and capital are diverted to that line of industry. When the want ceases to be habitual with a sufficiently large portion of the community, the labor flows to other industrial channels and the factories and machinery are put to other uses. The prices of all articles freely produced for sale are always and everywhere tending to the level of the cost of the most expensive portion of the supply. Human desire must be sufficiently strong to pay cost. To this equilibrium prices ever tend.

But if the facts regarding price everywhere and always—among the barbarians who are just beginning to barter within narrow limits, as well as among the most civilized nations of the earth, whose trade is infinitely complex and extended; and in the ancient trade of the Phenicians, as well as the international exchange of to-day; —if price phenomena are rightly explained in the foregoing analysis and the law of price is correctly stated, what remains of the law of supply and demand? If it does not deal with the fundamental and universal character and manifestation of price forces, is there any other group of facts which it does explain, and if so, what is the value of the explanation?

Understanding by demand the habitual want of the community as determined by its life and character, and that this is the motive force in production; understanding that demand is the effectual desire of the community because it is able and willing to pay the cost of production of the desired article, and thus that the cost determines price in the long run; understanding that it is price which induces supply from one period of production to another; —understanding that this is the economic relation and the sequence of cause and effect, there remains a group of phenomena which lie outside the apparent range of this explanation. They are the surface facts of temporary variations which are incidental to the more permanent

movements—the things which are so near that we cannot see them in their true light. The daily speculations as to what the price will be and the bets taken or offered thereon are directly dependent upon the visible supply and demand. If contracts are outstanding for the delivery of millions of bushels of wheat in Chicago and only hundreds of thousands are to be had at the price contracted (for instance, there were contracts at 90 to 95 cents for September, 1888), the price of those hundreds of thousands rises rapidly as the time draws near for closing the contract.

In the presence of these daily, hourly, momentary variations, the conclusion is forced on many otherwise intelligent people that the price of wheat, for instance, is fixed in Liverpool, the central market of the world. And the inference is drawn that if a farmer desires to sell wheat in Liverpool he must produce it on the Liverpool market, at the Liverpool price; the cost of raising, transporting, insuring and selling must not be above a level fixed by forces at work in Liverpool. This inference not only puts the cart before the horse; it makes the cart the horse. It inverts the economic order and transposes cause and effect. When it is said that the price of wheat is fixed in the Liverpool market one may properly ask who or what fixes it? Why are the traders in Liverpool willing regularly to pay about 4s. 6d. per bushel? Is it not because it *costs* that much year in and year out to put the requisite amount of wheat on that market? Does not wheat sell regularly at from two to three times as much as corn simply because it requires from two to three times as much human energy to satisfy the wheat want as it does to satisfy the corn want of humanity?

Again, it is said that the law of wages is that wages are higher when two employers are looking for one man than when two men are looking for one and the same job? This truth is so apparent on its face that it is accepted as complete and final; as expressing the whole truth concern-

ing wage phenomena. It would seem that a little learning hath made us mad, and caused us to shut our eyes to the real lines of uniformity and the manifestations, lying a little below the surface, it is true, but nevertheless, the manifestations of the forces at work in society which fix or cause, which *determine*, price.

In the case of wages, for instance, one may ask how much higher they are? how long they stay higher? how high they in fact are in each instance? whether one employer goes out of business because he cannot hire a man? and whether one man starves because the other fellow has secured the job they were both looking for? In a word, does the statement that price depends on the relation of demand to supply explain the facts regarding wages? Are not wages, the price of labor, determined just as the price of anything else is determined—by the cost of producing the most expensive portion of the necessary supply?

It is said that supply and demand determine price. What determines supply? and what determines demand? "Supply" is a name for the quantity of any article certain individuals stand ready to deliver at any particular time and place at a given price. They so stand because at the moment that price is all they hope to get in exchange. They are satisfied. But supply also means the quantity which all engaged in an industry produce; it is the amount society creates and consumes in the successive periods of production. And the price of this quantity is determined by the cost of raising, of producing, of creating, the most expensive portion of it. Individuals continue to turn a given amount, or more, or less of any particular article into societary circulation, simply and solely because it pays the one who puts the greatest amount of human energy into the production of the requisite supply. Society requires it and takes it simply and solely because the man who wants the article most can just afford to pay what it costs. Cost determines, that is, limits and fixes ,supply. Income or purchasing power determines demand. It is then the cost

of producing the most expensive portion of the supply and the power to purchase on the part of the man who wants the article, which are constantly in motion and tend to equilibrium, just as water seeks a level.

Price is limited by the expenses of production, and equals what those who most want the article in question are able to pay for it.

This does not mean, as was recently suggested by the New York *Evening Post*, that anyone can raise produce at any expense whatever and hold it on the market at a price to cover this. An equilibrium will not always result for hot-house grapes. They may be "sour" because no one can afford to buy them. Articles must be produced within the means of purchasers; but of the whole supply in the market it is the price of the most expensive portion which gives boundary to the supply and hence the price of every other portion. Price results from the equilibrium of cost and income; it is the evidence of the meeting and agreement of two individuals possessing different commodities.

Supply and demand, speaking superficially, tend to come into equilibrium. But they do not move independently of all forces, and social conditions; they are not omnipotent beings, conditioned only by their own sweet will. The equilibrium, meeting or agreement is not "fixed" whimsically, but is the necessary result of economic forces. The movement is not fickle but regular, systematic and orderly. It is the consequence of the impulse of certain definite human wants and desires which prompt men and women to act given ways under known social conditions. There is order in the apparent chaos, and it is a study of cost to the producer standing over against income of the purchaser which reveals it.

ARTHUR BURNHAM WOODFORD.

Defects in our Bread.

The purpose of this article is to show that the ordinary disposal of our bread material at the present day is both dietetically foolish and wasteful in consequence of the rejection of portions of the wheat valuable as food.

While much attention has been bestowed upon the brewing of beer, bread, which we all consume in small or large quantities, has been almost entirely neglected by the scientists who have done so much for the benefit of humanity in other matters.

Every large brewery contains its laboratory with the necessary apparatus for obtaining accurate tests as to the desired qualities of the beer, yet a baker's establishment with a highly trained chemist to supervise the making of the bread is certainly the exception rather than the rule.

Before attempting to describe the most desirable form of bread, it is necessary to explain the objection to white, brown, and Graham bread, one of which constitutes a part of the daily food of each of us.

White bread is made from the center portion of the grains of wheat, which consist of a large quantity of starch and a small percentage of gluten. The white central part of each grain is surrounded by five layers of other cells, all of them being rich in materials which go to support life; the layer nearest to the starchy center is composed chiefly of gluten, and the remaining layers all contain beneficial mineral matter. Outside these layers is the hard fibrous covering called the husk, or cortex, which is not of value as human food.

To properly sustain life and health, it is necessary that a due proportion of all the materials existing in a grain of wheat should be consumed. There are very few articles of food which contain the whole of these materials in proper proportions; milk and eggs are, in all probability, the

only two, but bread might be added as a third, if it were made from the whole wheaten grain, exclusive of the cortex. Each portion of the grain of wheat has a special duty in regard to the sustenance of life; starch is a warmth producer, phosphoric salts and mineral matters nourish the brain, and gluten forms flesh. The most desirable method of getting into the system the required proportions of the necessities of life, appears to be that of eating them in the shape of properly made wheaten bread.

White bread, however, contains only a part of the needful nutriment, and it consists entirely of that part, viz., starch. I am not aware that any experiments have been made with the lower animals, but it is quite evident that a human being attempting to live upon white bread, without any other food, would very quickly injure both his physical and his mental system. In white bread the whole of the tissue-forming, bone-creating and brain-supporting portions are rejected and constitute no part of the loaf which we eat, the result in Great Britain being frequent cases of rickets among the children of the poor, the parents not possessing the means with which to provide such requisites of diet as contain lime and phosphates. The bone disease to which I refer is often seen upon this continent, the chief features being crooked spine and limbs, depressed ribs, bulky head and short stature, all of which would in many instances have been absent if correctly made wheaten bread had been used in place of the white bread at present so highly appreciated for what, from a scientific point of view, must be regarded as an objectionable feature—its extreme whiteness.

Brown bread, as commonly made, consists of white flour with some of the outer husk—the innutritious coating of the grain—coarsely ground and mixed with the meal. The complaint against this bread is that it possesses all the disadvantages of white bread, and has also an irritating effect upon the stomach produced by the presence of the husk.

In Graham bread we appear to have gluten, albumen, and phosphoric salts in abundance, but the drawbacks of brown bread remain, the flour not being ground sufficiently small and the hard portions of the grain consequently remaining in large, angular pieces. This bread is quite as irritating to the stomach as ordinary brown bread, and the nutriment is not fully extracted from it by the eater, because its irritating property shortens the period of digestion and does not allow the system sufficient time to properly assimilate it.

What is required in order to obtain thoroughly nutritious and easily digested bread is:

1. That the flour from which the bread is made must be entirely free from the hard, useless, outer skin.
2. That this flour must be ground to such a degree of fineness that no angular flakes, which are the cause of the irritating and indigestible properties of both Graham and brown bread, are present.

The former result can be arrived at by the process known as "decortication," before being ground, and to this process—a sort of scraping—the white meal from which white bread is made is subjected. The second desideratum is obtainable by the use of suitable steel mills. As additional security against the retention of any large particles, the flour after being ground should be passed through a sieve; what will not pass ought to be re-ground.

Bread made after the manner I have described would be nutritious because it would contain every requirement of the body in proper proportions, and it would be easily digested on account of the presence of cerealin, a nitrogenous substance, possessing the power of converting starch into sugar and lactic acid, which exists within the layers composing the grains of wheat.

The analyses of wheat, it must be admitted, vary very considerably. In the produce of a single ear there may exist three or four per cent. more of albuminoid matters in some grains than in others, but the average proportion of

gluten to starch is as 9-11 to 100. While the whole meal of the wheat contains 119 grains in the pound of mineral matters valuable as nourishment, a pound of white flour contains, at the very most, not over fifty grains. The fine flour required for making white bread exists in the wheat to the extent of about seventy per cent., the balance being generally used to fatten hogs, or cattle, a process which is wasteful because it is a costly method of achieving the desired result.

The Spartans and Romans of ancient times lived and thrived very largely upon bread made of wheaten flour.

In Sweden, also in Russia and Sicily, at the present day the poor live almost entirely upon bread made from the whole meal of wheat, oats or rye.

The condition of our brains must depend to a very marked extent upon the state of our nervous systems, and our power of thinking—of doing brain work generally—must be lessened if we do not absorb a sufficient quantity of phosphorus. An insufficiently nourished brain cannot perform its duties efficiently, and the possessor of it is a loss to the community in consequence of being so much the less a thinking member of the human family.

Deficient bone nourishment is also responsible for many deformities, for stunted children, and for early decay of the teeth, as well as for flagging vitality, which so frequently results in an excessive desire for alcoholic stimulants.

Fashion will, no doubt, be much opposed to bread of a darker color than the white bread we are accustomed to see, and the difficulty of dealing with prejudice can hardly be overestimated. In addition, any new kind of food is generally disliked until it has been given a fair and complete trial. The German "black bread" often becomes agreeable to the taste after being used for a reasonable length of time, and unless it contained some good qualities to counterbalance its objectionable appearance and curious flavor it would long since have ceased to be made. There

is not, of course, any reason to suppose that the most fastidious person would be able to detect any disagreeable flavor in bread made as I have suggested from the whole wheaten grain.

Having endeavored in this short paper to draw attention to the defects in the existing forms of our bread, as well as to describe what I believe to be the remedies, I venture to express the hope that this question, being one of vital importance to the whole human race, may have bestowed upon it the consideration which it undoubtedly deserves.

LAWRENCE IRWELL.

The assertion that white bread consists entirely of starch, and that the whole of the tissue-forming, bone-creating, and brain-supporting portions are rejected, constituting no part of the white loaf, is a great error. Reference to any standard work containing an analysis of food will verify this statement; at the place of writing I have no reference books at hand. The Bethnal Green Museum of London has made something of a specialty of showing to the world an analysis of human foods; and Professor Church has written the hand-book containing such analyses for the Museum. Professor Church places the amount of gluten in ordinary wheat at from twelve to fourteen per cent., and the amount of gluten in ordinary white flour at seven or eight per cent; showing that ordinary white bread has been robbed, but that it still contains more than half as much gluten as whole wheat flour.

Sylvester Graham, fifty-three years ago, called the attention of the scientific world to the injury that may be done by making bread chiefly of the starchy portion of the wheat, and by excluding a large portion of the gluten. It is agreed by many scientists that about twenty-two ounces of food freed from water are necessary adequately to nourish a man of average size during twenty-four hours, and when performing an average amount of labor. Of this nourishment about sixteen ounces should be carbonaceous

or heat-forming, rather more than five ounces of nitrogenous food or that adapted to the support of muscular action, and rather less than one ounce should be phosphates and salts, which are needed for the support of the brain and the bony structure.

Whenever bread is the only food man is able to procure, it is as important that such bread should be made of the entire wheat, and that none of the dark-colored gluten should be separated from the flour, as may be claimed by the most enthusiastic Grahamites. It is undeniable that the very poor classes, such as abound in the east end of London, and whose nourishment is made up very largely from bread alone, would be considerably benefited if they could be induced to use whole-meal bread instead of that made from white flour, which has been robbed of a considerable portion of its gluten, and for this reason this class does not get the needed amount of nitrogen in their white bread diet. Unfortunately the class who would be greatly benefited by the adoption of bread made from the entire wheat consists of those persons who have no interest in the theories of the Grahamites—they do not even know that such theories exist. This doctrine has been addressed to the intelligence of the race, and quite naturally has made no headway among the poor and ignorant, whose chief considerations in selecting their food are appetite and expense. Fine white flour is more easily obtainable than flour made of the entire wheat, and, for reasons which will be touched upon later on, makes a more palatable bread, and hence only white flour bread is used by the poor.

It is only among the intelligent and well-to-do classes that entire wheat bread has found favor; and this bread has been and is a damage to this class. The well-to-do the world over habitually use a considerable portion of milk, eggs, cheese, fish, flesh, and fowl. These foods furnish an ample supply of nitrogen in a form much more easily digested than the gluten of wheat; and these foods

have the additional advantage of being rich in oil, a necessary element in man's dietary, and one he has insisted upon having throughout the ages. To those who are provided with flesh and animal products, in quantities sufficient to provide the needed nitrogen, bread made of fine flour is preferable because it is much more easily digested than that having a large proportion of gluten. I have elsewhere shown* that all but one or two per cent. of starch foods is digested in the intestines. A person provided with an ample supply of nitrogen and oil in animal products does not require the nitrogen of the gluten, which is much more difficult of digestion; and if fine flour—white bread—is eaten with such animal products the needed nitrogen is readily obtainable from the animal products, and the starch foods soon pass on to the intestines to undergo transformation into glucose; whereas, if the entire wheat flour bread has been eaten, there is necessarily a considerable effort on the part of the system to separate and digest the extra amount of gluten, the need for which has already been anticipated by the animal products. This necessity on the part of the system to separate and digest an element which is not needed and not used is a very considerable strain upon the nervous system.

A glance at the history of nations will supply proofs of this contention. The Chinese, Japanese, and the millions in India who subsist chiefly on vegetable foods are smaller in stature, shorter lived, are weak relatively, both mentally and physically, and have accomplished far less of the world's work than the English and German nations, who have been liberally supplied with a flesh dietary, and so far as England is concerned at all events, whose bread has been chiefly made of ordinary fine white flour.

Another proof that bread and starch foods are a great strain upon the digestive powers is found in the phenomenal benefits accruing to invalids by the use of the Salisbury diet, which consists exclusively of the lean of beef or

* "How Nature Cures," pages 237-238. (Swan Sonnenschein & Co., Paternoster Square London. Stillman & Co., 1398 Broadway, N. Y.)

mutton and water. When these patients recover their usual health they generally return to a diet of bread and starch foods, and frequently relapse again into invalidism, to be again cured by again adopting an exclusively meat diet. The increasing favor with which a milk diet for invalids is being received by physicians of all schools is another strong evidence in favor of a non-starch diet. The German Spas and Continental health resorts are filled each year by tens of thousands of patients from the effete and luxurious idle class in Europe, to "undergo" a yearly "cure." These establishments insist upon a greatly diminished amount of bread, no potatoes, and a corresponding increase of meat, eggs, and milk. Another proof is seen in the fact that among patients suffering from diabetes and obesity the former are put upon a skimmed-milk regimen, and the obese are forbidden bread and potatoes. The diabetic are often cured, and the corpulent are quite sure to be if put upon an exclusively non-starch diet. When cured these patients often return to a bread and starch diet, only to again be attacked with diabetes or corpulency, and to be again cured or helped by a return to a non-starch diet.

The theories advanced by Sylvester Graham, and a large army of hygienists and food reformers since, have been so plausible that large numbers of people have attempted to put them to the test of experience; but it will be difficult to find any considerable number of people who have adopted it in youth, practiced it during their life, and who have lived to any considerable age. Great numbers of enthusiastic young hygienists have adopted it early in life, struggled for a few months, or at most a few years, against the more difficult digestion which inevitably followed, only to return to a diet of white bread and animal products. Some equally enthusiastic hygienists late in life have adopted this theory, some of whom are still struggling with it, but most of them are either dead or have become apostates.

This is only another instance where the sound common sense of mankind has triumphed over plausible theories. Mr. Gunton has made readers of the ECONOMIST familiar with the fact that although professors of political economy have taught with some plausibility the doctrine of free trade, and their students have voiced these views in the literature of the country, nevertheless the plain hard common sense of business men has insisted on protecting our industries with a tariff. When we plunge into economics below superficial and plausible theories we find philosophy and good reason to justify the course pursued by our business men who threw theories to the wind, preferring to be guided by results of experience.

Looking deeper into the food question it will be seen that the common sense course regarding white bread followed by the great majority in civilization is as much justified by physiology as the practice of protecting our industries from low-priced foreign labor is justified by sound political economy.

In the heated race of modern competitive life, most men are overworked and are suffering from a prostration of the nervous system. They need most that food which will supply the largest amount of nourishment for the least amount of digestive strain. Fish, flesh, and animal products are chiefly digested in the main stomach; and the larger portion of their nourishment is easily obtained and readily appropriated. Bread, on the contrary, although undergoing the churning and movements incidental to digestion in the main stomach, remains undigested and is passed on to the intestines, where it is converted first into dextrine and then into glucose. Nearly all the nourishing elements of fruit are, like fish and flesh, digested in the first stomach; indeed, the great portion of its nourishment is already glucose when first swallowed—is in fact in the same condition chemically that bread becomes after a complex, laborious, and protracted digestion. In conformity with this law, I have quoted from men of science to prove

that those people who subsist largely on animal foods, with a modicum of bread and cereals, have much better health than that class who live largely upon bread and are able to procure but little meat.*

Bread has all needed elements of nutrition except free oil; but its gluten or nitrogenous element is inferior to the same albuminoid found in flesh and animal products. Equally valuable phosphates and salts are found both in fruits and in flesh; and the major element of nutrition in bread, its starch, or heat-giving force, is greatly inferior to the heat-giving nourishment found in fruit. The ordinary dried figs of commerce contain about sixty-eight per cent of glucose. Ordinary whole wheat flour made from northern wheat has a similar percentage of starch, but with the important difference that the glucose of figs requires no chemical change, whereas the starch of bread must, as before explained, undergo a protracted and laborious digestion before it becomes available as human food. An examination of the bread question is important, not so much to learn how to improve it, as to do without it.

EMMET DENSMORE.

* "How Nature Cures," pages 272, 305 and 306.

Current Economic Discussion.

That more or less distinguished ex-Liberal non-Tory, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, airs his opinions on "The Labor Question" in the *Nineteenth Century* for November. His friendliness to eight-hour legislation is encouraging, not because of its results, if his friendliness indeed will have any results, but because of that which it is itself a result of. For we take it that it is a result of Mr. Chamberlain's single eye for the main chance. He sees that the eight-hour movement has grown, and is not disposed to range himself on the wrong side of the future if he can help it. He does not regard it as at all certain that a reduction of hours would increase the cost of production, for he recognizes the probability that there would be a compensating increase in the efficiency of the labor. If there were a slight increase in the cost, he thinks it would fall on the consumer in the shape of increased cost, rather than on the workman's wages or the employer's profit. Prof. Edwin R. A. Seligman of Columbia College, in his recent monograph "On the Shifting and Incidence of Taxation," expresses the same principle under a different application; his idea being that taxes fall in the long run on the consumer who is not also a producer, and who sells nothing to others by which he can "pass it on" to them, as schoolboys say. No doubt this principle of ultimate incidence holds good of individual exchange of products or services, alike when there is, and when there is not, any public taxation involved. Under its operation the eight-hour law would, in the long run, and very indirectly, act as a tax on the leisure classes, or those best able to bear it without suffering any conscious loss, for the benefit of those whose toil would be shortened in quantity and strengthened in quality.

It is curious to note what like results men will reach in thinking around the same question from different starting

points. Mr. Chamberlain, who is by no means a socialist, recognizes a growing tendency toward extending the powers and enlarging the functions of local authorities in regard to social questions, and feels certain that we may proceed further on the same lines with hope and confidence. And on this side of the water a Bellamy Nationalist, Mr. Ned Arden Flood, in the *American Journal of Politics*, thinks that the extension of municipal functions is too often overshadowed by the plan for the national control of industry, and that if nationalism in its entirety is to be realized, it seems likely to be realized first in the cities, with a gradual development toward the enlargement of the national function. Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Flood both want to see municipal powers cautiously increased, but the one fears that the principle of home rule will gain too much ground, the other that the principle of nationalism will not progress fast enough, if tried on too large a scale and too soon. Possibly Mr. Flood and his co-thinkers may yet induce Mr. Chamberlain to come out for Bellamyism. If they can make him think that Bellamyism is coming, he will come, too.

William Maitland thinks the American farmer is ruined, and he too tells the public, through the *Nineteenth Century*, just what is the matter; for Mr. Maitland is quite sure that he knows what is the matter. Of course the iniquities of the protective tariff are a part of the Maitland diagnosis. The farmer, Mr. Maitland thinks, is the most taxed and the least protected of mortals. He will insist on topdressing his farm, figuratively speaking, with mortgages, and on voting for queer third party schemes involving more currency, of a kind of which "the more there is the worse" is true. There is some truth and some error here, as there usually is. But Mr. Maitland stumbles over one of the secrets of the farmers' sorrows, lying right in his path, and does not know it when he sees it. He has heard that the government has disposed of a great area of public land in the last twenty-five years, for he says so. But he does not,

strange to say, discover the connection between this fact and the sorrows of the American farmer. But just imagine the effect that would be felt by the manufacturers of the country, if the government should somehow happen to have a large number of manufacturing plants on its hands, of all kinds, and were to give them away or sell them at nominal figures to actual operators!

So far as the manufacturers are concerned, the same result will be attained for them that free or almost free land has attained for the farmers, if instead of their competitors being multiplied by means of free plants, they are admitted to competition without paying American wages for labor. It does not make much difference to a man whether you take a dollar out of his right-hand pocket or his left-hand pocket. Under the circumstances, Mr. Maitland's lamentations about the farmer are hardly as cogent an argument against labor protection as they evidently intended themselves to be.

In the *Engineering Magazine* Mr. William Nelson Black gives an optimistic view of the future of the electric motor. Rightly recognizing the railroads as a chief factor in the unparalleled development of this continent, he believes the electric motor will supersede the steam engine, and at a more rapid pace tend to annihilate space. In the meantime he believes, correctly too, that we will maintain our present system of railroading, never heeding the cry of the dissatisfied few to put them under government control, for, as Mr. Black says, "we never would have had a tenth part of the railroad mileage if it had not been constructed by the precise agencies through which it was obtained—that is to say, made the impulse and inspiration of individual initiative and personal interest and ambition." But by the transformation of the farmers into owners and stockholders of the prospective electric railways, may the writer not be destroying the incentive to work the farm of his fancy? And is it probable that the rent of the distant farming land would remain the same when its productive utility

is increased by means of electric motors, as our writer seems to think? It is scarcely fair to attribute to our great railway enterprise the creation of jealousy and of such men as Peffer, for surely such men, as well as the green-eyed monster, existed long before railroads or corporate capital appeared in any form. Let us give to Steam and Electricity, and their agent the Machine, their full measure of credit, and pronounce them the wonderworking forces, the socializing powers of the universe, but attribute "jealousy and distrust of the power of association" to ignorance of the economic relation of capital to society.

Mr. C. R. Tompkins writes on *Progress in the Art of Woodworking*, giving instructive and pleasing illustrations of the labor-saving power of woodworking machinery, showing clearly that though hand workers through ignorance resisted the introduction of this class of machinery as inimical to their interests in displacing their hand labor, the final result was more work, and better products. And to-day, by its socializing influences, the masses demand and are enabled to obtain neatly trimmed houses and artistically made furniture, which has operated for their refinement. And this has tended to increase their work until it has caused a demand for higher wages, thus establishing the fact that machinery is the agent which actually raises the standard of living of the masses.

Mr. Corbin, of the *Union Pacific Employees' Magazine*, wisely urges that the laborer's most effective weapon is the ballot; but we do not agree with him that going by contraries is the wisest method of using it; for behind the ballot is the social status of the masses, which determines the wisdom or unwisdom of its use. Because some corporations resist the advance movement of labor, it in no wise follows that corporate capital should be abolished, any more than that because some labor organizations make mistakes, organized labor should be disbanded. If Mr. Corbin thinks "the labor question would be greatly simplified if the power of the corporation was eliminated" (which

would of necessity eliminate the power of organized labor, for the one is the economic accompaniment of the other), he has only to look back upon the time when that condition of affairs actually did exist, and ask himself if he desires the return of those dismal days. The corporation is the natural outgrowth of the concentration of capital, as the maintenance of the high wage level is the natural result of organized labor. Will Mr. Corbin deny the socializing effect of both?

And again, says the *Union Pacific Employees' Magazine*, "with government ownership of railways, telegraphs, and coal mines; with government system of postal saving banks and banks of loan and deposit; with a system of land taxation that discriminated against the speculator in favor of the actual occupant and tiller of the soil, our present aristocracy would be as dead as Babylon."

With the destruction of the aristocracy—as Mr. Corbin is pleased to call our manufacturing classes—our nation would indeed be as dead as Babylon. It is not government ownership of any of these industries that we need, but a thorough economic education, teaching both capital and labor their economic relations to each other and to society. By this means alone will hostilities end.

Bradstreet's compilation of failures occurring in all parts of the United States excepting Dakota shows that, in the first three-quarters of the present year, the total failures, including those of a strictly mercantile and industrial character, not omitting banking institutions, were 7,378, which is less than in any corresponding period since 1883, excepting 1887-8, when there were 7,330. The marked improvement over 1891—there being 1,528 fewer failures in this year than in that—*Bradstreet's* attributes partly to the restriction of credit and in part to the general shortening of sail as suggested by prudence and economy. Is it not entirely due to the increased concentration of capital, which entails less risk to credit, and by the introduction of improved methods which have reduced cost? The above

figures, are, however, strangely at variance with the lamentations of our lately elected administrators, that under the present policy our nation is on the verge of ruin.

In the *Charities Review* Mr. Buzelle tells us that "charity is more than food and clothes;"—that "it is a science and an art." As a science it should strike at the very root of poverty; as an art it should develop the means of reaching the source without belittling the individual. The first cry of the babe, whether it be from a homely cot or a downy pillowed cradle, denotes a human want. This scientific knowledge the mother possesses, and Nature, operating through the ties of affection, has taught her the art of placing the opportunity to gratify that want so near to the infant that by its own effort it satisfies itself. This is the science and art of true charity.

Under the heading "Relief in Work," the same *Review* gives the different experiments which have been tried with more or less success, tending to show, among other things, that compulsory labor is desirable for both sexes. The already adopted motto, *quid pro quo*, is the only sound basis for any transaction, charitable or otherwise. Would it not be well to transform the vast amount of money annually spent in well-meant but often misused alms-giving, into capital, thus establishing factories on a business basis, throwing their products upon the market in regular competition with other shops, in this way underselling by legitimate methods; and the profits, if any, spent in establishing kindergartens, libraries, music halls, and other socializing influences, making the factory conditions as ideal as desired, and in so doing creating the desire for home? In this way it would be possible to call such an institution an "Opportunity Giving Organization" thus adding dignity to charity and the idea of individuality to the laborer, while sympathy and sentiment could be lavished upon the inmates of hospitals and homes for the aged.

C. S. ROBINSON.

Editorial Crucible.

Correspondence on all economic and political topics is invited, but all communications, whether conveying facts, expressing opinions or asking questions, either for private use or for publication, must bear the writer's full name and address. And when answers are desired other than through the magazine, or manuscripts returned, communications must be accompanied by requisite return postage.

The editors are responsible only for the opinions expressed in unsigned articles. While offering the freest opportunity for intelligent discussion and cordially inviting expressions of well digested opinions, however new and novel, they reserve themselves the right to criticise freely all views presented in signed articles, whether invited or not.

NOW THAT it is settled that the late Samuel J. Tilden's wish to found a free public library is to be carried into effect, we hope that the Tilden library will avoid the chief vice of too many of our visiting public libraries. They mostly open at some generously late hour in the morning, about two hours after the workingman has gone to his work, and close at some premature hour in the afternoon, not long after the banks shut up, but an hour or two before the workingman can have a chance to use them. The average public library founded by rich men seems to be designed chiefly for the use of people of wealth and leisure who can afford to buy libraries of their own.

THE PROCEEDINGS at the opening of the Italian Parliament in Rome, where everybody a few years ago was under the temporal rule of the Pope, reminds us how steadily Europe is being constitutionalized, if we may coin a verb. The ministers promised to obtain a "budget equilibrium," or a revenue equal to the expenses, without fresh taxes or the increase of old taxes, and also an organic reform of the

public service. Both these pledges are essentially a recognition of popular rights. Italy, like Great Britain and Spain, is still a monarchy in name, but, at the rate at which Central and Southern Europeans are getting the benefit of constitutional rule, it will not be a great while before the Russian Empire, instead of the French Republic, will be the juryman to complain of "those eleven other obstinate fellows."

THE DEMOCRATIC party has taken a brief to relieve the people from the burdens of taxation, which has long been the pet theme of Mr. Cleveland himself. Just how they are going to bring this boon about is not quite clear. It was a plausible promise to make in a Madison Square Garden speech, but not quite so easy to redeem in practice. The national revenue is barely equal to the present requirements of the government. It would be quite an easy task to reduce the taxation by abolishing tariffs, but that would simply create a deficiency and necessitate a reduction of public expenditures, which is only another name for curtailing public improvements. Such a scheme would be very much like telling workingmen that they can lighten their burdens by going barefooted, living in poorer houses, and wearing shoddy clothes.

IN SOUNDING THE KEYNOTE of the Democratic administration Mr. Breckinridge in his recent Chamber of Commerce speech said: "Our purpose is, as God gives us strength, to turn our faces in the opposite direction from that in which we have been going." Of course the object of adopting any given policy is to obtain certain results; hence the only purpose of adopting an opposite policy must be to produce an opposite effect from what we have been having. During the last thirty years we have, by common consent, had greater prosperity and more social advance than was ever known to any other people. To reverse this, then, is the purpose of Mr. Breckinridge and

his Democratic associates, "as God gives them strength." It must be admitted that this position has the merit of candor and consistency, but whether it is just what the American people want we shall see later.

WE ARE GLAD to observe signs of returning sanity in the *New York Times*. It was once an able, patriotic paper, but during the last eight years it appears to have lost its head on all matters pertaining to economics and trade, and become a mere free-trade fanatic. The abolition of our "robber tariff" system, root and branch, has been its motto. To this end it has waged war upon our industries, our public men, our national integrity, and in fact everything American; but the election of the Democrats seems to have sobered it up considerably. It has suddenly stopped clamoring for free trade, and is now willing to accept a tariff equal to the difference between wages here and abroad. This is what the SOCIAL ECONOMIST has steadily advocated and what the Republican platform demanded, and, what is more to the purpose, it is the only truly scientific basis upon which the tariff question can be economically and permanently settled. Of course we cannot tell how long this rational spell of the *Times* will last, but we are glad to see it taking a correct position, if only for a brief time. It is better be right a little while than to be wrong all the time.

THE NEW YORK *Sun* takes the *Westminster Review* to task for describing Americans as pessimists. It resents the allegation, and claims that we are the most optimistic people on the earth. The *Westminster Review* has probably been reading Democratic papers, which for the last few years have been engaged in a pessimistic crusade against everything American. They have belittled our public men in comparison with foreigners; they have berated our industries; denied our progress and prosperity and done

their best to defeat the growth of new industries. In fact, from their description of our people and methods during the last eight years foreigners would be justified in believing that we are devoid of public integrity, commercial honor, or ordinary morality; that our laborers are oppressed to the point of starvation for the enrichment of a few industrial potentates who in turn corrupt our public officials and degrade our national character. Of course this is all a libel on the character of the American people, but it is the reputation Democratic journals have tried to give us, and we should not be surprised if their English admirers accept the caricature as a true picture.

THE AUTHORITIES in Pennsylvania are making history just now that they will surely some time have to account for. Under the instruction of Judge Paxton a grand jury has indicted the whole advisory board of the Amalgamated Association at Homestead for treason. If Pennsylvania law-makers and capitalists think they can suppress the labor movement by creating new crimes they are seriously mistaken. This method has been tried too often. It was inaugurated in 1350 and has been repeated many times in every century since, only to demonstrate the failure of all such means of solving labor difficulties. If resistance to Pinkerton police is to be high treason, and the officers of labor organizations to which those participating in the act belong are to be treated as accessories to the crime, and the capitalists who deliberately provoke the assault are to escape, the time for some radical changes is near at hand. It would be difficult to invent a more effective way of destroying the confidence of the masses in our present institutions, and fanning the flames of socialism throughout the community. The day for such one-sided proceedings has passed.

BISHOP DOANE, of the Episcopal Church diocese of Albany, has taken great interest in excise reform mat-

ters, and it is therefore very significant that he, of all men, should have begun to discuss the proposition that licenses for saloons be done away with entirely, so that a man could open a saloon without asking anybody's consent but that of the landlord, but should be liable to have it shut up with remarkable suddenness if he sold liquors to minors, or on Sundays, or to intoxicated persons. This scheme would be distinctly better than the actual situation in prohibition states. Those states do away with liquor licenses entirely, and assume that the saloons are not open all the same. This proposition would assume that they are open, as they assuredly would be, and the police would watch them accordingly and come down on the proprietors for any crime or misdemeanor. At least, that would probably be the case outside the state of New York, where the absurd "police spy" clause prohibits an officer of the law from going into a saloon at the hours when it is constructively closed by the law. The repeal of that astonishing legal paradox is the first step towards a rational system of excise law in New York, unless we wish to substitute the principle "it is a crime to detect a crime" for the familiar maxim "it is a crime to conceal a crime."

JUST WHAT WILL become of the social problem of the south under Democratic government is a question that cannot be contemptuously dismissed merely because the Democrats have succeeded. To be sure the southern people, who no doubt suffered many things under reconstruction and carpet-bag government and who even now fear the ghost of "negro domination," will say "hush! Don't discuss it!" But discussed it must be till it is settled ; and as somebody said once, nothing is ever settled until it is settled right. The Mississippi plan of an educational qualification for voting is a step towards fuller knowledge of industrial conditions. Other southern states have been fearful of introducing it, lest their Democratic majorities

be cut down to the danger point, for there are a great many southern Democratic whites, as well as Republican colored people, who cannot read. But the enormous Democratic majority which Mississippi gave in the late election ought to knock the partisan argument in the head for evermore. An educational qualification disfranchising no present voters, but applying only to newcomers or young men coming of age, would put the premium of a vote upon education, and make the people want to be educated more. And when the people want to be educated they will be educated; and when they are better educated they will want more industrial progress and they will get it.

THE BOSTON *Herald* makes the astonishing announcement that "Mr. Atkinson can probably claim the credit of having formulated the economic truth, conveyed in the seeming paradox, that the higher the price of labor the cheaper the cost of production, and in the various analyses that he makes he apparently justifies this most satisfactory economic law."

It is a demonstrable law in economics that highpriced labor tends to produce low-priced products, but we know of no one pretending to a knowledge of economics who so little understands this law as Mr. Atkinson. Of course belief in this law would lead one to advocate high wages as a means of lessening the cost of production. Who ever heard of Mr. Atkinson favoring a rise of wages? Massachusetts workingmen know him only as an opponent to all their efforts in that direction. Mr. Atkinson has indeed asserted many times lately that the higher the wages the lower the cost of production, but he has done so solely for the purpose of advocating free trade, assuming that because our wages are higher our cost of production must be lower than that of other countries and hence protection is unnecessary.

In the sense in which he makes the statement it is as erroneous as is the assertion that "the higher the tariff the

cheaper the fabric." High-priced labor does lower the cost of production, but not directly by the superior alertness and energy of the workingmen, as Mr. Atkinson imagines.

The economy comes in an altogether different way ; namely, through the general increase of consumption and larger markets which furnish the economic foundation for the investment of capital and the use of improved methods. It is not until the improved methods come that the cost of production is permanently reduced. If Mr. Atkinson or the Boston *Herald* have any doubts about this let them hire \$5 a day American bricklayers and \$2.50 a day English bricklayers, and see what the difference in the cost of erecting a building will be. If they think the American bricklayer will lay more than twice as many bricks as the English they are woefully mistaken. The truth is that most of our \$5 a day bricklayers are Europeans. The explanation is that in bricklaying no machinery is used, and hence the entire difference of wages is represented in the cost of production. To the economic law by which high-priced labor really lowers the cost of production, Mr. Atkinson is apparently as much of a stranger as was Adam Smith or Gregory King, and in the sense in which he talks about the matter it is not true at all.

Book Reviews.

Who Pays Your Taxes? By BOLTON HALL. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. 1892. 239 pp.

In this little book Mr. Bolton Hall advocates the single tax scheme on the rather self-contradictory plea that it is at once direct and the most completely distributed tax of all, and therefore rests most widely on the shoulders of the whole community. As to this latter position he is of course correct. Burdens on real estate are shifted to consumers of every kind, from consumers of farm produce to those who use buildings, and all real estate is already adjusted to its various burdens. It has become a custom of the world that burdens should attach to real estate, and therefore in the whole business of that department these burdens are taken for granted. And it is precisely because of the easy, natural and certain distribution of the real estate tax that it is best and most just for the community.

But our notion of a direct tax is that it is one that cannot be shifted, but which stays where it is put. When a tax is levied on profits anywhere it stays there, because the receiver of profits cannot shift his burden to other shoulders. So a tax upon incomes cannot be shifted, and is a direct tax, and likewise always unpopular, as all direct taxes are. Any tax that moves from the person taxed to other persons is in the natural adjustment of business an indirect tax, because it goes far around to get its final resting place. But only such taxes as are actually so much out of pocket to the person first paying them are direct taxes. Nor is this a mere matter of nomenclature either, as might at first blush seem to be the case. For one object of levying what Mr. Bolton Hall and others call direct taxes, (under which title they include the real estate tax,) is that the payer of taxes should feel such pay-

ment acutely and resist high rates with corresponding energy. We, however, call this tax indirect because, being shifted as it is to the public regularly and completely, the payer of it does not feel it, and therefore does not strenuously resist its high rate. The real reason for advocating the single real estate tax is that it is least felt because most widely distributed, and therefore furthest from being a direct tax.

But Mr. Bolton Hall seems also to mistake the nature of taxation altogether. He treats it as a necessary evil, to be abated to the utmost. He cites many examples of people ruined by taxation, and speaks of the immigration of Europeans to this country as being occasioned by the burdens of taxation imposed at home to support their armies and monarchs. And he undoubtedly represents the popular view. Taxation is everywhere regarded as a horrid imposition, to be shunned as much as possible and shirked even at the sacrifice of honesty. Every party makes a point of decrying the other party's rate of taxation, and boasts of its own economy in comparison.

But this view of modern taxation is at once narrow, unjust and unwise. Where taxes are spent for their money's worth they are not a burden but a profit to the community. They increase the public wealth, and therefore they are not rightly considered when regarded as an evil. They may be ill spent, which only goes to show not that taxation is an evil, but that taxes may be collected and badly spent, and that ill-spent taxes are an evil, and this is true. But if taxes are well spent they may be precisely the best investment the community can make. Take highways, for instance. Will not a public expenditure in making good highways be more profitable to a community than twice as much money spent in private outlay? And is not the money spent for public uses in general—paving, lighting, water-works, gas-works, and all the rest, precisely the outlay which makes a city great, valuable and profitable? In fact, the more public money is spent legit-

imately the higher the grade of civilization procured. Not Constantinople, where there are no public works, but Paris, London and New York, where taxes are highest, are the great cities.

To aim, therefore, at low taxes as a definite public advantage is like aiming to live as cheaply as possible, a mere effort at degradation. To curtail public expenditures is like trying to live, like a Chinaman, for ten cents a day for the individual. The matter to watch in taxation is not tax rates, but the objects for which taxes are spent. Parsimony in taxation means no advance in public matters—stagnation, dirt, depravity. It is probable that no one in this country gets more for any money which he spends privately than he gets for what the state takes and spends for him. People without taxes are always of very low grade, like Tartars, Indians, savages ; and any civilized people have a better life than those untaxed tribes. It is doubtful if taxes ever impoverish to the extent that Mr. Hall imagines. At any rate, they have never yet reduced any people back to the poverty of the untaxed. When our people cease to grumble at tax rates and to cry for a mill or two less, and rather watch to see that money raised is well spent for important public uses, then our civilization will begin to advance by leaps and bounds. It isn't tax uses that we should castigate, but tax waste. Mr. Hall thinks the only source of pure politics to be low taxes; he might as well say that the source of private virtue is low expense of living, and cite as an example Hindooostan or Eskimo.

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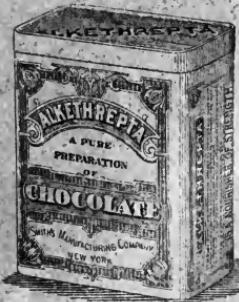
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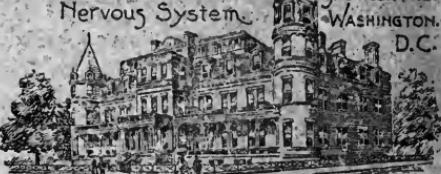
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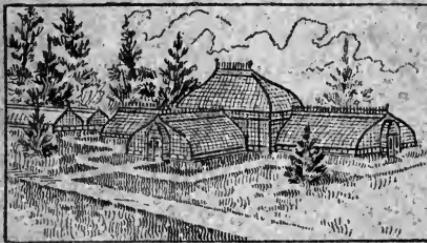
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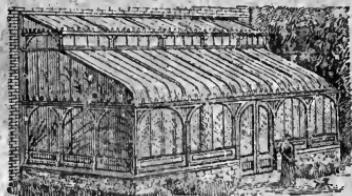
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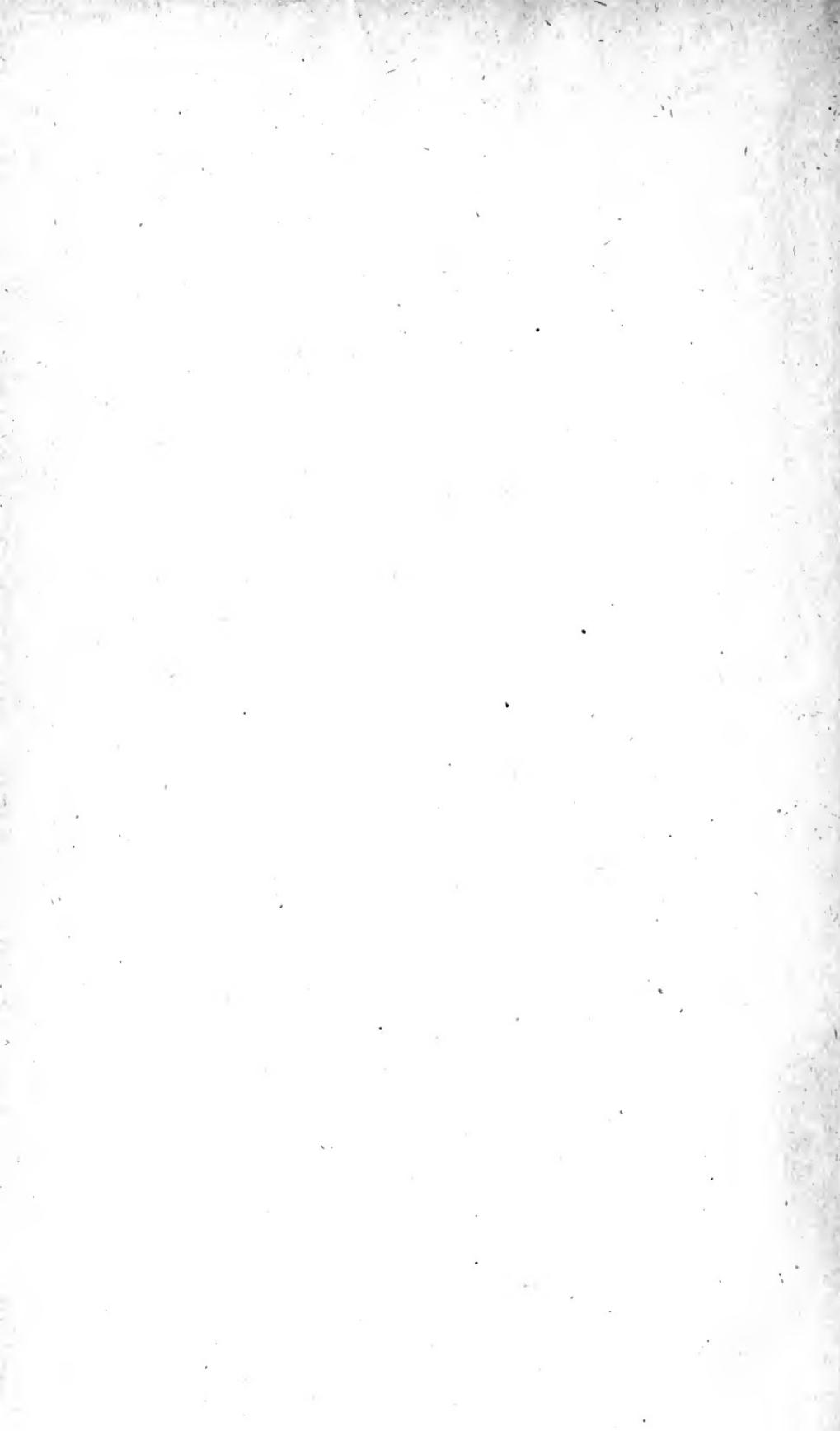
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